

North American news

Job market report gets hostile reply

A huge government study of the job market for college and university graduates in Canada gives a surprisingly gloomy impression of their prospects.

The survey, on which Statistics Canada, the federal statistical agency, spent nearly \$1m was based on interviews with 45 per cent of the 97,000 Canadians who graduated in 1976. It has received a hostile reception from higher education spokesmen, who have attacked the report's generally negative tone as well as several specific shortcomings.

Colleges and universities were upset because the report entitled *Job Market reality for Postsecondary Graduates* was presented in a way that seemed calculated to bring them adverse publicity. Sure enough, it prompted newspapers to write front-page stories about the unpleasant contrast between reality and student expectations.

The main findings of the study were that, two years after graduation:

● One third of university graduates felt they were "underemployed", working in jobs that did not require a degree.

● Although 80 per cent believed it was important to find employment in a field related to their degree subject, only half had actually done so.

● One in four regretted their choice of degree programme and almost half planned to return to university for further studies.

In summary, the Statistics Canada report says that "the hard reality of today's labour market is a rude jolt to many graduates fresh out of college or university. Disappointment may run high during the first few years after graduation."

One criticism of the report is simply that it was out of date by the time it was published this spring, since it deals with the employment status in 1978 of students who graduated in 1976. The study found an overall unemployment rate among university graduates of 8.2 per cent. A few months ago the Ontario Ministry of Education released a more up-to-date survey on the employment of the province's 1979 graduates 18 months later; it reported only 4.9 per cent unemployment.

However, the federal study is the first nationwide report of its kind. It found that graduates in the medical and health fields, computer science, engineering, business and education had the lowest unemployment and underemployment rates and the higher average salaries. The only mild surprise in this group was the success of education graduates in finding well-paid and generally satisfying jobs as teachers.

California has lost its educational edge in the high schools, a new University of California report shows.

Sharp declines in test scores, exceeding the US average in English and maths, pose new problems for the state's higher education system. Where Californians outperformed the national average in 1972, they now have fallen well behind.

The decline in performance means that many students are experiencing increasing frustration with their class work. Professors are being forced to re-evaluate their roles. An English professor at Berkeley said: "I have a choice in my Shakespeare class; I can teach the course anyway, giving students C's or B's; or adjourn Shakespeare and teach writing."

Tom Parkinson, another professor of English at Berkeley, said that although he did not think that students were less well prepared in English, many of them could not form an argument and some could not even read. "In the 1960s you could turn

Clive Cookson,
North American Editor,
The Times Higher Education
Supplement,
National Press Building,
Room 545,
Washington, DC 20045,
Telephone: (202) 638 6765

Government bows out of arts support

from Clive Cookson
WASHINGTON

For the first time since 1965, when Congress established the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, the Federal Government is proposing to play a much smaller role in the arts and humanities.

Some of President Reagan's conservative associates believe in principle that Washington should not support culture or scholarship at all. More moderate members of the White House staff are willing to accept limited federal funding of the very best practitioners but they see both endowments, allegedly popularized and politicized by the Carter Administration, as prime candidates for budget cuts.

Mr Reagan's 1982 budget, being pushed through Congress by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, would remove half of the endowments' funds, leaving the NEA with \$88m and the NEH with \$55m. This emergency has forced organizations interested in the humanities to beef up lobbying muscles that had grown somewhat flabby as Congressional liberals consistently boosted the endowments' appropriations over the previous 15 years.

Twenty-three associations, ranging from the Association of American Universities to the American Historical Association, have formed a crisis coalition, the National Humanities Association, to tell Congress how seriously the administration's budget would damage their members. In the present political climate they will have scored a victory if NEH emerges from the Congressional budget process with a cut of 30 per cent or less.

The loss of several longstanding supporters of the humanities in last year's Congressional elections, including Senator Jacob Javits and Representative John Brademas, makes the job more difficult. However, a few old friends are left, and one of them, Democratic representative Sidney Yates, is still in a position of some importance as chairman of the House sub-committee that appropriates money for the endowments.

NEH chairman Joseph Duffey, a Carter appointee whose four-year term expires in September, appeared before the sub-committee two weeks ago to explain how the endowment would cope with a 50 per cent cut. Mr Yates angrily told him not just to act as a mouthpiece for the Reagan administration but to come back with possible NEH budgets based on 10, 15, and 25 per cent cuts. However, the corresponding appropriations sub-committee in the Senate, under Republican control, is expected to accept the full 50 per cent cut.

Endowment officials will protect research from the cuts as far as possible, sacrificing other activities in research support will be reduced by 28 per cent, while public programmes (for example supporting museum exhibitions) are slashed by more than 60 per cent. The endowment would still be able to fund one in every five or six applications for research grants, compared to the present one in three.



Ronald Reagan: pushing cuts through



Charlton Heston: to co-chair committee

Therefore the budget cut alone will remove much of the excessive "populism" that chairman Duffey and the Carter administration have, according to conservative critics, fostered in the endowment over the past four years. Next year's leaner, meaner NEH will have moved back toward the "elitist" that Senator Claiborne Pell, then chairman of the Senate sub-committee on the arts and humanities, deplored in 1976 when he blocked the reappointment of Ronald Beriman, NEH chairman under Presidents Nixon and Ford. There will still be funds for academic research in history, literature and philosophy, but almost certainly none in films about the struggle of office workers for better conditions (to quote a favourite example of the critics of NEH "politicization" under the Carter administration).

But the Reagan administration is thinking of reshaping the endowment more fundamentally in the long run. To help make up its mind, the White House has set up a task force on the arts and humanities to examine the whole future of NEH and NEA.

The task force is supposed to recommend a new structure that would make better use of a reduced level of federal funding and bring in more support from the arts and humanities from private donors. One idea, favoured by some Republicans, is to convert NEH and NEA from federal agencies to independent public corporations. The corporation for public broadcasting, which channels federal and private funds into public television and radio, is seen as a possible model.

University scholars would not necessarily be opposed in principle to an independent non-political corporation for the humanities. But they would object strongly to a combined corporation for the arts and humanities - a variant of the idea that has been floated in Republican circles. Humanities scholarship would almost certainly be cut out of the greater political appeal of the arts if NEH and NEA were merged.

However, academic lobbyists were encouraged by President Reagan's choice of the historian Hans G. Heston as the task force co-chairman representing the humanities. (The actor Charlton Heston will be co-chairman, representing the arts.) They do not believe Dr Gray would have agreed to serve if the task force had a hidden agenda to prepare for the abolition of NEH.

Indeed the task force may recommend the preservation of both endowments in approximately their present form. That would make it difficult for White House and congressional conservatives to turn the clock back to the early 1960s when the Federal Government provided no direct support for the humanities.

in basic skills. It is devoted to health sciences.

In 1968 not one campus had as many as half its entering students scoring below 550 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test verbal section; in 1979 more than half of the freshmen students scored below 550 on all eight UC campuses.

Remediation has begun. There are special maths classes to make calculus easy and there is basic composition. Each campus has a learning assistance centre where students may receive individual tutoring.

Despite these attempts, academics are asking each other if standards will be lowered.

"Absolutely not," says Alice Cox, although it may take longer to achieve. More students are taking five years to graduate, the report notes.

Many solutions are being offered to meet the problem. One suggestion is to restructure the curriculum in the first two years. The process of learning rather than content should be emphasized. "We must explain why students should know calculus or history. We should not simply fling it at students."

The university must make a serious commitment to basic skills training, the report notes. Finally, UC Berkeley and Riverside have experienced less of a decline than the other campuses. (There are nine campuses, but the University of California at San Francisco does not train undergraduates.)

Overseas news

Australian staff better paid

from Geoff Maslen
MELBOURNE

The average Australian academic is about 16 per cent better off in terms of income than her United Kingdom colleagues, according to a study of salary scales in the two countries.

But the salary difference is significantly less today than it was in 1976 when average Australian academic salaries were 40 per cent higher than those in the UK. Comparison of salaries as at October, 1980, shows that Australian academics at the bottom of the lecturer scale enjoy a real salary 64 per cent higher than that of their UK counterparts.

At the other end of the academic totem pole, professors have the same real income in both countries. To make the comparisons, the researchers - two economists at Brunel University, Martin Cave and Keith Norris - deducted income tax from academic salaries in each country, converted them to a single currency at the prevailing exchange rate and then corrected for difference in the price levels between the two countries.

A report of the present study is published in the latest issue of *Vestis*, the Australian universities' review, and is a follow-up to a similar survey conducted by the two economists in 1976.

Cave and Norris point out that since the salary and career structures of academics are different in the United Kingdom and in Australia, direct comparisons of real academic salaries which legitimately can be made are limited. But, the researchers say, they have been able to express the after tax salaries of different grades of United Kingdom academics in terms of their purchasing power in Australia. Because price levels in the two countries are also different, the researchers had to calculate the price difference relative

to a particular bundle of commodities.

"We have taken the average expenditure pattern in Australia (which may be different from the expenditure pattern of the average UK academic) and calculated the price difference between purchasing a bundle of commodities in London and Melbourne", say the researchers. They claim the calculations are not likely to affect the outcome by a substantial margin.

The commodity groups chosen by the researchers included food, clothing, housing and housing supplies. The study reveals that since 1976, when each of the commodity groups were more expensive in Australia than Britain, food and clothing are now cheaper in Australia, while the cost of housing and housing supplies is now much more comparable.

The survey reveals that when before tax salaries are compared, the average nominal salary for Australian academics is 121 per cent of the UK level. It also exposes substantial differences in the proportion of academics in each grade in the two countries. For instance, slightly more than a third of Australian academics are lecturers. A slightly higher proportion are senior lecturers, about 14 per cent are readers or associate professors, and 13 per cent are professors. In Britain, on the other hand, lecturers make up 61 per cent of academic numbers, senior lecturers 26 per cent and professors about 13 per cent.

The researchers point to the significant changes which occurred between 1976 and 1980 in the comparative real salaries of academics in the two countries. United Kingdom academics have improved their position by around 17 per cent in relative terms. Moreover, this improvement seems to have taken place fairly consistently at all levels in academic life except at the very bottom where the proportional change is smaller.

Mexico encourages military education

The Mexican Ministry of National Defence has begun a total reorganization of army academies of higher learning. According to defence minister, Felix Galvan Lopez, the College of National Defence is to be inaugurated in September.

In a unique declaration of the aims of the college, the minister said that it will not only train those seeking a military career, but will have an open door policy for public functionaries who wish to learn about military strategy, as well as more orthodox courses.

Senior Lopez said that the college does not aspire to militarize Mexican society, but will enable civilians to be better informed on military matters and possibly opt for military careers or to adapt the knowledge in furthering their political aspirations. The minister claimed that the courses would be of a higher order than at West Point in the United States and that students would be accepted from abroad.

The move comes at a time when

economists, educators and members of opposition parties are warning of violence on the streets if the inflationary spiral continues.

The ruling Party of Revolutionary Institutions (PRI), a benevolent dictatorship which has ruled Mexico for over six decades, faces opposition in the 1982 general elections. There is dissension within its ranks which has been carefully suppressed, and the leftist parties are working for a coalition to present an alternative presidential candidate. PAN, the National Action Party, which is predominantly Catholic has also announced its intention to name a candidate to contest the PRI selection.

The next president is usually named by the outgoing president about a year before he gives up office, although the party and the president deny this custom. The next president has already been selected although officially his name is still a mystery until September. Recently there has been talk of a

Black study centre gets top scholar

from Craig Charney
JOHANNESBURG

The University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of African Studies is expanding its innovative programme of research on South African history and culture.

The seven-year-old institute has already become South Africa's largest centre for social historical research. Now it is also developing into an important institution for black literature and arts.

A leading black scholar, N. Chabani Manganyi, has just joined the institute's two other well-known heavyweights, writer Es'kin Mphahlele and historian Charles van Onselen.

Although the institute remains fairly small, and operates on a shoestring budget of £120,000, it has spawned a series of publications. The work done so far is an impressive demonstration of how much of the untold story of the past can be discovered by dedicated researchers, despite the restrictions of apartheid South Africa.

Along with ten other researchers and research assistants, Professor van Onselen is hoping to help re-write South African history from the bottom up, instead of the top-down white elite perspective it has traditionally displayed.

"History is the history of the ruling classes, of great men, of political parties. What we are trying to do is to redress the balance in South African historiography by writing the history of ordinary people," he says.

He adds: "South Africa is also a highly modernized industrial society, and it is class as much as colour that makes this society tick. The biggest problem in understanding this blend is how the two components of class and colour are related."

Both these concerns are manifest in the institute's largest and most innovative project: the oral history of the black working class in the Transvaal province.

A team of black researchers is collecting interviews with hundreds of elderly blacks in order to establish the pattern of change in their lives over the century. The result will be a study tracing the social and economic evolution of South Africa's industrial heartland as well as an irreplaceable archive for future scholars.

The manner in which the project is being conducted is also a departure from the typical South African pattern, where the black man does the interpreting and the white scholar the thinking. All the members of the research team have been registered for part-time degrees, and are being trained with a view to becoming professional historians.

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Episodes from South African history like the charge of the 21st lancers at Omdurman (above) are studied from the black point of view.

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clinical psychologist. He is working on a biography of Professor Mphahlele, as well as other research.

Professor Mphahlele, currently on leave in the United States, is engaged in a study of the oral poetry of the peoples of the Northern Transvaal, while Mr Tim Couzens is writing a social history of black South African writing in English.

The centre has also provided a temporary home for researchers from other universities, both South African and foreign, who share the interest and concern of its members.

But the focus of the institute has not been exclusively on scholarly writing. In addition to teaching within the university, institute members have given lectures at a "lunch-hour university" held at Johannesburg public library, in an effort to give something back to the community from which they have drawn their material.

Right-wing force rhetorician to stand down from post

from James Hutchinson
BONN

The celebrated rhetorician, Professor Walter Jens, has withdrawn his acceptance of a new chair of rhetoric at Hamburg University after his appointment had been strongly opposed by conservative politicians, academics and newspapers.

He said he had decided to stay as professor of rhetoric in Tübingen because he evidently caused so much turbulence in his native Hamburg that he would not be able to work there properly.

The Gotthold Ephraim Lessing chair of rhetoric at Hamburg was said to have been tailor-made for Professor Jens. In the spirit of Lessing, it was to become a source of theological, humanistic and literary enlightenment. In March last year the university academic senate voted unanimously in

favour of his appointment, and Professor Jens said: "I simply could not refuse an offer like this."

But then the anti-Jens campaign began. First there were objections to the appointment on points of procedure. Later there were attacks on the professor's academic qualifications and political integrity. Deterred Professor Jens, who describes himself as a democratic socialist, indicated that he would not be going to Hamburg after all, "unless the situation on the Elb improves".

But spasmodically, the campaign continued. His opponents spread rumours that he was a communist.

Finally, in a letter turning down the offer, Professor Jens told the university that his most important task, the translation of the new testament could only be carried out in an atmosphere of Brechtian friendship.

Senior students come back

from Uli Schmetzer

ROME
Granny and grandpa are returning to the campus this month when Italy's first university for the aged opens at Rome's Augustinian Aula Magna.

The enrolments for the new university are already so prolific that *universitas* had to be imposed for all of the four initial courses - economy, languages, art history and geriatric medicine.

Prerequisites for enrolment are simple: applicants must be over 55 years old and have completed the equivalent of what are today O levels.

"For a start we will only have 150 students but when the university becomes autonomous next year we hope to be able to expand," says Signora Valeria Di Loredo who helped to organize the campus.

Senior student walking into class on May 20 will be a 90-year-old great

Castes lose protection

The high court of Madhya Pradesh state in central India has quashed an order allowing Untouchable and tribal candidates to get on a medical degree course with much lower marks than other examinees.

The Untouchables need to get a minimum of 30 per cent of the total marks and the tribal candidates only 20 per cent at the pre-medical test to qualify for admission to the degree course. Unprotected candidates need averages of 75 per cent or more to get on the course because of the stiff competition.

The high court upheld an unprotected student-petitioner's plea that the provincial government's order of March 16 violated a high court ruling in November in a similar case.

Trainee doctors get new chance

West German medical students who failed a stiff interim examination are to be given another chance. The National failure quota was more than 56 per cent, compared with between 10 and 25 per cent in previous years.

This led to student demonstrations, sit-ins and strikes, and the ministers of health of the regions have now agreed that the marking was unfair. According to the ministers, the failure quota should be reduced to a federal average of 25 per cent.

The examination, taken after the first four half-year terms, is based on an American system known as multiple choice. To each of 320 questions the student has a choice of five answers, one of which is correct. The questions were set by an institute in Mainz assisted by 130 university teachers.

Until 1979 students were given a pass even if their marks were up to 18 per

cent below the federal average. This concession was abolished because the medical profession was facing overcrowding. Now the 18 per cent rule has been restored. Sixty per cent of the questions must be answered correctly.

The health ministers gave this explanation for the high failure rate, until this year 40 per cent of the questions had already been set in previous papers, giving students a better opportunity for preparation. Moreover, the examination used to concentrate heavily on heart physiology, whereas this year only 20 per cent of the question were on this subject.

The Medical Association complained that the examination system prompted students to learn answers to questions out of context. A process of thought was being acquired which did not lead from symptom to diagnosis, but rather went the other way. And that was alien to medical practice.

Charlotte Barry examines the OU's role in provision for the disabled

Wheelchair wisdom

Ten years ago, as the Open University prepared to welcome its first summer school students, the letters began trickling in.

Students were writing to inform the university that they were in a wheelchair, would be accompanied by a guide dog, or needed a phone in their room.

Disabled students officer Ms Binkie Power remembers those hectic few days with horror. "We didn't have any idea of the numbers of disabled students we were going to be facing. Students were writing a week before to say they were in a wheelchair or had a respirator."

Since those early days the OU's provision for disabled students has changed out of all recognition. Now it caters for 3,000 registered disabled out of a student population of 70,000. For every 1,000 students 40 are disabled, compared to two per thousand in conventional universities and polytechnics.

On the face of it, the OU's use of written teaching materials complemented by television and radio broadcasts seems ideal for the person who is homebound or has difficulty getting around. But perhaps the main attraction of the university is the fact that it takes its disabled students seriously, and does not regard them solely as a problem or a nuisance.

The OU's stated policy is to accept responsibility for the educational needs of all its disabled students. It can even discriminate in favour of them by guaranteeing admission. It allows them to jump the often lengthy queue if they can prove they would otherwise suffer severe educational hardship.

The policy is determined by the university's students' committee and carried out by a full-time team of advisors and administrators on the Milton Keynes campus headed by Mr Richard Tomlinson, the founder of the Graecae disabled theatre group.

The university's positive attitude to disabled students starts right at the beginning with the application form. Applicants are urged to give details of any disability that might cause study problems. It is emphasized that this is in the students' best interests so they can be given the fullest support.

"In the early years there was a feeling that if people let on that they were disabled they would be discriminated against in the admissions procedure," said Ms Power. "This is in spite of making it clear in our publicity that we want to know simply so we can help them."

The details are then put onto the computer record (which is updated annually) and a special visit is paid to every disabled applicant by a counsellor from the OU's nearest regional office. Special facilities are offered, ranging from course units and set books on cassette, transcripts of radio and television programmes to tactile diagrams. Blind and deaf students are given the opportunity of attending an induction course on special skills.

Applicants are also offered specialist advice from a consultant on appropriate educational aids and sophisticated devices such as automatic page turners for the manually handicapped, remote-controlled typewriters and telephone amplifiers.

It is stressed with honesty from the outset that disabled students may not find studying at the OU easy. They are warned that some courses may not be possible, it will often take them longer to finish work than other students, they may feel more tired and also isolated. A lot will depend on their willingness to ask for help from tutor, counsellor or regional office who will do their best to meet special problems.

It is also made clear that the university makes the same academic demands on disabled students as able-bodied ones. The guidance notes for disabled students emphasize: "Academically you will not be treated differently from anybody else. The qualification you get will be valid as the next Open University student."

Travel to and from study centres and tutorials may present additional difficulties for disabled students and increase the feeling of isolation. Self-help groups and transport rotas are organized by the OU Students' Association and some tutors undertake home visits. Telephone tutorials can link up a group.



Above, a cerebral palsy sufferer learns to use a typewriter, and below, the Graecae Theatre cast in rehearsal.

in the study centre with the house-bound student and sometimes group discussions are held in the disabled student's own home.

Although some severely disabled students are excused from summer school, the majority are encouraged to attend. Every effort is made to allocate them to the appropriate conventional university campus where they are held.

The task of matching facilities to requirements is complex. Students are sent a guide to the host campuses which provides a wealth of detail. Durham for instance is described as "a very hilly campus... unsuitable for disabled students". At the University of East Anglia self-propelled wheelchairs may need help up steep gradients. York is said to have been designed with the needs of disabled students in mind. "It is one of the few universities suitable for students in wheelchairs; there are covered paths and ramps linking most colleges and buildings," the guide says.

Most of the OU's regional offices employ someone during summer school with specific responsibility for disabled students. They are there to answer enquiries, provide help and distribute special equipment like hoists for the bath, puncture kits for wheelchairs, walking sticks and ramps. Given sufficient notice they will arrange for the host institution to provide a room with a phone for a student on a kidney machine.

In certain weeks of summer school special support is provided for the deaf: sign language interpreters use sign language during tutorials, and visual display units are installed. As a prelude to the lecture is typed onto a small television screen in front of each student.

Two major breakthroughs have been the inductive loop which cuts out background noise for hearing aid users, and a hearing aid modification wired up to a microphone which is passed around as students speak.

The OU insists that disabled students who attend summer school should be accompanied by a helper so that they can plan a full part in the academic and social life. Helpers may be family, friend or a volunteer from the pool. Free board and lodging is provided and local authorities are persuaded to foot the travel bill.

Although day schools are held to train volunteer helpers, the OU admits that the system is not perfect. It has

also turned out that relatives are not always the best choice.

There was the unfortunate case of the man accompanied by his alcoholic wife, who spent the whole time locked in her room. He was too proud to ask for help and sat in the foyer for hours saying she was "just coming down" if anyone offered to take her place.

There is also some resentment among disabled students who feel they do not need helpers. Ms Power explains: "The problem is that students who live independently feel they can manage perfectly well without and don't perhaps realize that going to a strange place can be very frightening."

Course assessment and exams can also involve special arrangements, and the OU will make as many as needed to allow people to compete on equal terms. This often means arranging for disabled students to take exams at home (under strict invigilation) and allowing them to do essays on tapes, which are then typed up by the university. Extra time is allowed in exams and so is the use of amanuensis, braille, typewriters as well as question papers in large print or braille.

Co-operate University tutors are asked to help in helping to overcome any learning difficulties experienced by disabled students. There is a wealth of written information available to guide them on how to best respond to the disabilities they may encounter, from agoraphobia to brain damage or deafness.

The disabled students committee helps to iron out problems and point out difficulties to academics who may not be fully aware of them. The team took up the case of a blind student on the humanities foundation course who wanted to do an assignment on art appreciation. The course team was eventually persuaded to provide history of art as an alternative.

But there has been the occasional problem with hostile academics who fear that disabled students may lead to a lowering of standards. One course team chairman rang just before exams to say that someone had made a terrible mistake and let a blind student onto his course. What if people outside were to hear about it?

"He was reminded that this student had done a course the previous year and got a good grade two pass," said Ms Power. "Eventually he came round and has been absolutely super ever since. Now he even reads course units on to tape."

A grey outlook on the south coast

The outlook could hardly be more grim to the 300 or so delegates travelling to Bournemouth for this weekend's annual conference of the college lecturers' union.

They are beset on every side by threats, many of which stem from the policies of a Government which still has three years before it must face the electorate.

Cutbacks in further and higher education mean that one in six lecturers will lose their jobs over the next three years — 3,000 by January according to civil servants straining to keep the Government's economies on schedule.

The whole nature of post school public sector education is set to change if Government plans to hive off some 98 colleges and polytechnics with the largest proportion of advanced work come to fruition. The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education has repeatedly emphasised that weakening links with the local authorities will irreparably damage the service and lead to whole sections of the country being denied access to lower-level courses.

As if this was not enough to knock the morale of Natfhe's 73,000 members, there is the imminent prospect of the non-TUC Association of Polytechnic Teachers winning a place on the Burnham further education committee. Already suspicious of the way the Government would like to restructure Burnham, Natfhe leaders' long term aim of negotiating pay and conditions together in a non-statutory forum has been badly dented by indications of the national joint council to live up to expectations in its first year of operations.

In two years the Government has begun the painful turn-around in past policies which brought new educational opportunities and hundreds of extra teaching jobs. Ministers seem determined that the pace of contraction will be far faster than the great build-up of the 1970s.

Natfhe's leaders have consistently attacked the Government approach as an act of educational hooliganism, are bitterly opposed to Mr Carlisle's "philosophy of contraction," and have coupled the Government's leaked plans for more centralized control of higher education spending in the public sector with the cut-backs in jobs — 5,700 by 1984 according to the public expenditure White Paper.

But despite their efforts the campaign to save higher education has hardly galvanized the union's own members, let alone begun to influence opinion outside. Their fundamental difficulty is how to underline the value of a service to which many people are generally indifferent or in some cases hostile. While the trade union movement has rather belatedly awoken to the possibilities offered by colleges for mature students, women and other traditionally disadvantaged sections of society, the wider public, hardened by the deepening recession, are less than enthusiastic.

Troubles loom on the collective bargaining front too. There are already signs that union leaders' predictions that relative salaries, boosted by Clegg and arbitration awards last summer, will again begin to slide back as happened after Houghton could prove accurate. The working party set up under Sir John Wordie, chairman of the Burnham committee to examine the salary structure, is likely to be seized by the employers as a chance to pursue ways of achieving a more efficient service at a direct cost to lecturers' conditions and pay.

The failure of the national joint council to control some of the more hawkish local authorities on issues such as the redundancy agreement reached in the mid-1970s and on cut-backs in part-time teachers' hours has badly undermined Natfhe's confidence in face to face bargaining on both salaries and conditions.

And the possibility that APT might win formal recognition is resented not because it would diminish Natfhe's

power on the committee so much as symbolic value as a recruiting aid to polytechnics.

APT, which gleefully exploited its now-defunct closed-shop deal between Natfhe and Leeds city council, is unlikely to make capital out of its position among some of Natfhe's members, polytechnics who dislike the local authority connection that their union so resolutely opposes the proposed changes.

Many delegates will be keen to find out why there is so much unfinished business left over from the last two pay rounds.

The independent Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service is involved in one — the final issue of last October's deal on part-timers. It is conciliating between the teachers' panel and the employers on the question of whether lecturers working in more than one college in the same authority should qualify for a term and job with pro-rata pay and other benefits they are now denied.

Failure to agree on this question has dragged out negotiations so long that a considerable number of educators have threatened to thwart the agreement by reducing part-time hours below the threshold qualifying them for associate lecturer status in September.

A dozen polytechnics are either already running PRC schemes or are actively considering doing so.

So the negotiators may face underlying resentment that their interests have been sacrificed to deal with what is essentially an inner London problem.

With the general mood of disenchantment it was no surprise the disenchanted lecturers are flocking to take advantage of the growing number of premature retirement compensation schemes on which local authority officials are pinning their hopes of dealing with the cut-back. In a 12-month period 700 were tempted by enhanced pensions and lump sum payments to break with teaching, and there is little Natfhe can do to stop them even though it means loss of pay and a consequent effect on the quality of education offered to students.

All it can do is to try to control and monitor the terms which are being offered in what could quickly become a chaotic situation. A dozen polytechnics are either already running PRC schemes or are actively considering doing so.

This weekend the executive is to underline its determination to prevent things from getting out of control by tightening up an already-tough regulation on PRC to ensure joint supervision of PRC with the employers at national level.

The executive's own resolution opposing Government policies may be strengthened this weekend with an attempt to introduce sanctions in support of the campaign. A major amendment supported by the union's highest education standing committee and supported by at least two regions calls for strike action as part of the campaign, including a one-day stoppage by Natfhe members before the end of the summer term.

Resolutions and amendments offer a depressing catalogue of the union's worries: cuts in adult, teacher and further education; overseas student fees and the effect of the Government's policies on the viability of whole areas of higher and further education.

For once pay questions are likely to take a back seat, with alternative ways to the executive's straightforward salary strategy such as flat rate and flat rate plus a percentage providing the only major interest.

Perilously near the end of the agenda, the question of nuclear disarmament, with no early indications that delegates will reject unilateralism.

David Jobbins

Peter David meets Fred Holliday who happily combines a research career with vice chancellorship

Durham: an outpost of optimism

Oxford, Cambridge, Durham. The University of Durham crops up near the top of everybody's unofficial hierarchy of British universities. And in Durham they are confident that it is near the top of that official list being drawn up by the University Grants Committee, too. It all makes for a nonchalant optimism. The university sits in the lap of the castle and the cathedral, a rare outpost of cheerfulness in an otherwise despairing higher education system.

There are several long-standing reasons for the university's self-confidence, and one rather new one. For years now Durham has just about had the pick of the brightest school-leavers. Its graduates are snapped up by employers. But it has recently been given an extra edge in the market through its new vice chancellor, Professor Fred Holliday. Now entering his second year in the job, Professor Holliday has left few colleagues in any doubt that one of the best universities has also acquired one of the very best vice chancellors.

Professor Holliday is a confident but modest man who seems to like his job. He is one of those lucky people who have been able to combine a distinguished research career in the life sciences with a simple love of nature. He knows exactly how many species of small mammal inhabit the woodland around his home, and how many different types of bird perch on the golden beech in his garden. He grows his own vegetables but also relaxes with a home computer, programming television games with his son or plotting the movement of fish around oil rigs.

Curiosity about nature and a determination to understand it have been the driving forces of a remarkable career. Part of it was good luck: his parents were "the best sort" of working class people who saw him through secondary school although they had no idea what a university was. He also came under the powerful influence of

an "inspiring" biology teacher at Bromsgrove High School. "From as early as I can remember I was very interested in how animals worked, how frogs worked and how shrews worked. I was not really interested in natural history as such but in how the beasts were actually put together and what made them tick. I used to pick up dead animals. Whenever I could find anything that was dead I used to take it home and dissect it with razor blades. Any dead beast whatsoever I would take home. I kept lots of live animals and used to measure how high they could jump or how fast they could swim or that sort of thing."

When he left school in 1953 Fred Holliday was uncertain about which university to go to. The problem was solved when Sir Hans Krebs got his Nobel prize at Sheffield. "He described the whole basic energy cycle of the cell, and with that so much fell into a place." By the time Holliday reached Sheffield Krebs had moved on to Oxford, but it did not matter. He took a first class degree in 1956 and joined the Marine Laboratory in Aberdeen on a research training scholarship.

At Aberdeen Holliday worked both in laboratories and at sea on the reproductive biology of the herring. The story since then has been a career of uninterrupted research in fish behaviour and physiology at the University of Aberdeen and, from the end of the 1960s, as professor of biology at Stirling.

Why the particular fascination with fish? Holliday explains in almost mystical terms: "Fish live in water. That's a silly way of starting. It always seemed to me that the skin of the fish was the only thing that separated the workings of its whole system from the outside world. So I saw the skin as an interruption which kept the fish in and kept the rest of the world out."

"I was quite fascinated by the notion of the fish as a package through which the environment tried to flow but never quite succeeded. Some things got in, variety," he says.

The statement may be somewhat disingenuous. His mother, Geula Cohen, was elected to the Knesset on the Likud list in the May 1977 elections. She was never a professional politician, says her son: "But ours was a thoroughly political home, we lived and breathed ideology."

MK Geula Cohen and her late husband had both been underground fighters in the Lehi organization otherwise known as the Stern Gang in British Mandate Palestine. Like some political movements on the continent in the 1930s, Lehi (which stands for *Lohamei Heitru Yisrael*, freedom fighters of Israel) combined right and left extremists and used terror to achieve its ends of liberating the land from British rule and creating a Jewish state in Palestine.

Geula Cohen belonged to the right and brought up her son on an impeccably purist interpretation of the faith, central to which was the inalienable right of the Jews to sovereignty over the whole of Israel. At weekends, the family home filled with callers such as Menachem Begin, former commander of Irgun Zva'i Leumi (IZL), the mainstream pre-1948 anti-British terrorist group, and later Israel's prime minister, Likud bloc MK Ezer Weizman, a former commander

of the Israel Air Force and one-time defence minister Uri Zvi Greenberg, Israel's aged, leading right-wing poet ('the D'Annunzio of Tel Aviv') and Ariel Sharon, former IDF general and current agriculture minister and patron of the government's settlement ventures in the West Bank.

"Politics for me was never the humdrum, grey routine of party caucuses and mutual compromise and backscratching. Politics was endlessly retold tales of the underground struggle against the British and the Jewish moderates, and of the wars against the Arabs. Ideological dispute and reminiscence combined to make sure that neither my mother or I ever went to bed before 2 a.m.," says Mr Hanegbi.

His political conversion came during a tour of the United States in the spring of 1978. He was "deeply shocked" when he opened the paper one morning and read of the Camp David agreements. "I felt betrayed. Begin had sold us down the river, he'd collapsed under threat or inducements," says Mr Hanegbi.

He returned to Israel to find the public quite happy with Camp David. "Like my mother, who soon after bolted the Likud and, with another dissident Likud MK, set up the Tehiya Party to oppose the treaty with Egypt, I



Professor Holliday (right) has given Durham cause for self-confidence

obviously. Light got in, some water got in, some food got in, some salt got in. Here was an animal in absolute contact with the outside world and the outside world was always trying to degrade it, to wear it down. I tried to study how the fish resisted that degradation."

It was a fruitful line of research, and resulted in new discoveries about how fish distilled sea water, and how the membrane of fish eggs enabled them to survive. A big success came at Stirling when Holliday collaborated with electronics experts to find ways of experimenting on free swimming fish, using newly invented sonic tagging devices. "You could sit at the edge of a tank and hear the thump, thump, thump in the fish's heart was beating." Later, the technique was extended and used for tracking busking sharks at sea through NASA satellites.

Professor Holliday has naturally invested a great deal of time at Durham in stimulating the university's research effort. He believes that British universities, with their interlocking traditions of self-criticism and "a good free-ranging imagination", are among the best possible environments for good research.

One innovation at Durham which will enhance its research capability is the university's decision to set aside a significant part of its income to create an internal research fund for which staff submit competitive projects. It is a sort of risk capital used to fund projects which are long-shots or insufficiently crystallized to attract outside funding. Some, according to Professor Holliday, are "heretical".

The enfant terrible of Israeli student politics

Tzahi Hanegbi can hardly see out of the back window of his white 1976 Alfa Romeo because of the profusion of political stickers. "The Golan is part of the land of Israel", "Judea and Samaria are eternally ours", "No withdrawal" and so on.

His many enemies say that he is a "political thug" who resorts to violence with relish; that he wishes to expel all Arabs from Israel's universities; and that he is using his position to further his own political career and goals rather than for the real benefit of the country's students.

Mr Hanegbi, chairman of the National Union of Students (NUS) since last summer, denies these charges. He says the press hardly ever reports "what I do and say, only what those who oppose me say I do and say."

A third-year international relations student at the Hebrew University, Mr Hanegbi has been something of an *enfant terrible* for Israeli university heads for the past two years.

Soon after he was elected chairman of the Hebrew University student union in June 1979 political tensions on campus erupted in outbreaks of right-left and Jewish-Arab hostility and demonstrations. Left-wing and Arab gatherings, some supporting the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and others the Jewish right, were regularly disrupted by Mr Hanegbi and his followers.

He was accused of leading a chain-and-fist assault on a group of Arab and left-wing Jewish students on the university lawns and was hauled before a disciplinary board. Preferring discretion to valour and perhaps swayed by the obvious desire of university president Avraham Harman to calm the troubled campus, the board eventually acquitted the student union chairman and his deputy, Yissrael Katz, on grounds of "conflicting testimony."

Mr Hanegbi, 24, enrolled at the university four years ago, having completed three years in the paratroops. "I wasn't really interested in politics then. I never thought I would become involved in either the campus or national

Jerusalem University expelled Arab protesters in its severest disciplinary sentence in memory, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (this month expelled three Arab students for two years for producing and distributing a leaflet that incited Arab high school pupils against Zionism and the State of Israel).

The three, Lutfi Abu El-Hija from Tamra, who is doing an MSc in molecular biology, Ghannu Measlin from Daburayya, a first-year biology student, and Mohammed Zayver from Majd El-Krum, were earlier found guilty of the charges by the university head of discipline, Dr Pinhas Schiffman.

University officials explained the severity of the sentence by saying that the students had incited the pupils against the state and the university and had broken a specific assurance to the dean of students.

Two of the three are members of the university's Arab

vice chancellor and played a key part in putting the university back on its feet after the death of Dr Fern Costello. One of his special convictions is that universities must become involved in regional and national affairs. As a director of Shell and former chairman of the Nature Conservancy Council, Professor Holliday is as good as his word. But he is worried about the contrast between Durham University's relative affluence and the depressed communities of the north east.

If he has any worries about Durham's future they centre around the problem of ensuring innovation and change at a time when it is difficult to recruit new staff, although he does not subscribe to the belief that academics are necessarily less productive in their older years: "I know many old men of 25 and young men of 75".

To encourage change, however, he thinks universities could ask academics to "trade in" their seniority in return for basic security. Tenure could be guaranteed, but senior appointments could be based on fixed term contracts. By and large, though, Professor Holliday is optimistic. An ambitious development plan is being prepared to coincide with the university's 150th anniversary. New interdisciplinary initiatives are on the drawing board, and the university's colleges are being sharpened academically.

The university, too, seems happy about Professor Holliday. A distinguished scientist who has a weakness for brandy-snaps and analyses the distribution of daisies on his lawn cannot help being likeable.



Mr Tzahi Hanegbi: Zionist

1978 during Operation Litani. He also sent a letter of encouragement to Broadcasting Authority director Yosef Lapid, who was under fire for allegedly purging the television of left-leaning journalists.

His critics charge him with using the NUS to further the right-wing. They point to a Likud and Tehiya-sponsored propaganda tour of the West Bank Jewish settlements in which some 1,500 students took part. The NUS played a prominent part in organizing the outing, whose purpose was to "sell" the settlements politically as well as to encourage students to settle in the disputed territory.

"Politically, I don't see myself joining any party or working in the Knesset — 80 per cent of the members are not fit to organize a student activity. But I'm sure I will remain active outside parliament," says Mr Hanegbi, now the unofficial Young Guard leader in the Tehiya Party.

He greatly admires Gush Etzionim (the Block of the Faithful), the extra-parliamentary, religious-nationalist movement which serves as the spearhead of the Jewish settlement drive in the West Bank. "I don't believe in the established parties or in established politics," he says simply.

The Israeli public is likely to hear much more in the coming months of Tzahi Hanegbi, — and perhaps in the coming years as well.

Benny Morris

At a time of severe recession, with unemployment rising to three million, and with worse to come, it is not surprising that discussion of "What is Wrong with Britain?" should fasten on the Government's economic and financial policies, and that public debate should turn on such issues as monetarism versus reflation, the rate of exchange, government help to industry, and related matters. But it is not in the realm of economic and financial policies that the sources of the British sickness, or the remedies for it, should be sought: it is an illusion that all would be well if only different policies were adopted. No doubt, different policies would help; but the trouble lies much deeper than this, and is solidly embedded in the foundations of the social order itself. It will take more than a change of policies to deal with what is wrong.

The root problem, I will argue here, is that Britain is a country in which (a) a relatively small number of people who control the levers of economic activity in the greatly-predominant "private sector" have no responsibility whatever for advancing or even considering the social good; in which (b) the vast majority of people, who do not control anything, have no such responsibility either, and cannot therefore be persuaded to act as if they had; and in which (c) the government, which is supposed to have that responsibility, is either unwilling to discharge it, because of its belief in "free enterprise", or, if willing, cannot or does not dare do much about it.

As part of the picture, there is also the fact that Britain is deeply divided by great inequalities in every aspect of life, beginning with the ownership of wealth, and going on to constitute a tight structure of unequal circumstances and opportunities. Great efforts are deployed from endlessly varied sources to persuade the 80 per cent of adults who make do with 20 per cent of personal wealth that class no longer matters and that inequality in Britain is well on the way to being levelled out. But this is only part of the mythology which is required to prop up an iniquitous social system.

Whatever else may be controversial about this, there cannot be much argument about the fact that the "private sector" of the economy is controlled by a relatively small number of people, and that this control gives them a great deal of power; and it is also the case that the "private sector" in Britain is very highly concentrated, more so even than in the United States, with large firms dominating the manufacturing, commercial, financial and communications-cultural sectors. This trend towards concentration is very strong and will be accelerated by present policies. Conservative, Labour, Liberal and Social Democrat leaders defend the "mixed economy" with fervour and unanimity; but what they are in fact defending is concentrated economic power, to which is adjoined a subordinate "public sector". It is one of the largest facts about the making of policy in Britain that corporate power is indeed private, and remarkable unconstrained: "free enterprise" is a perfectly accurate description of it, while the "mixed economy" is charlatanry.

What is this private power for? Further propaganda efforts go into persuading "the public" that those who have that power are obsessively concerned with the public weal. In reality, the public weal only comes into their reckoning by accident, if at all. To take one example: through the years of decline, British investment abroad has boomed, and amounted in 1978 to some 24,000 million dollars, second only to the United States, and far above the investments abroad of France or Germany. The main, if not the only criterion which dictated the making of private investments overseas was the expectation of private profit. That is what free enterprise is about, after all; and it is idle and misconceived to blame it for not being about something else. Of course, Adam Smith's "invisible hand" is supposed to conjoin private striving and the public weal: it may even occasionally do so. But to rely on it generally to do so is to substitute faith for reason, and to ignore the accumulated experience of the ages. Civilised life depends on interference with the market: business is far too serious a matter to be left to business.

Yet, this is precisely what governments are concerned to do, or what they at least accept with good grace. Conservative governments rejoice in

Power and responsibility



the freedom which they guarantee to private enterprise: they say "let the people face" and mean "let the speculators loose". Labour governments for their part have had an interventionist and directive vocation, but the planning to which they have been pledged has always been much longer on rhetoric than on practice. Nor is this remarkable, since there is no reason to think that planning, in any serious sense of the word, is possible so long as the "commanding heights" of the economy are in private hands and under private control. To say this is to invite oft-told tales of totalitarian horrors to come. Modest proposals for the public appropriation of the strategic points of the economy are thus demagogically turned into a power-crazed wish to nationalize "everything that moves", including every corner shop and garage. Such outpourings usefully conceal the fact that what is at issue is not the creation of power but the transfer of power, from the private domain, where its operations cannot be effectively controlled, to the public domain, where they can be. No doubt, there is always a danger of inflated statism; and it must be heeded. But then, there is a danger of inflated statism in conditions of perfect private enterprise: see for instance that showpiece of Friedmanesque capitalism - General Pinochet's Chile.

While the activities of business are generally and gratuitously assumed to coincide with the "national interest", the activities of trade unions enjoy no such good opinion. Any display of militancy on their part will produce virtually unanimous hostility in the press; and the more determined and effective the militancy, the more virulent the hostility. A profoundly anti-trade union streak is a major part of the British political culture, and it does not take a great deal to give this hostility a near-hysterical tone. Trade unions are reluctantly accepted as an inevitable, even as a necessary, part of the scene, the role they can play in the industrial conflict. But the prevalent view, massively fostered by most organs of opinion, is that trade unions have too much power, and certainly more power than any other "interest" in society.

This is yet another part of the legitimizing mythology which the system invokes to ward off challenge. For the power which trade unions have in the daily process of decision-making in fact goes into the naming of society in that small, and incomparably smaller, than the power of capital. There are occasions when trade unions can inter-

In our continuing series on "The British Disease" Ralph Miliband argues that an unequal and oligarchic society cannot produce a cooperative morality.



vene with effect and exercise what amounts to a veto power in regard to issues which closely and directly affect them and their members - the proposals of the Wilson Government embodied in *In Place of Strife*, the Industrial Relations Act of the Heath Government, the recent proposals for pit closures. This is not to be under-rated, and constitutes a great advance on pre-war days. But neither should it be confused with power to shape major economic and political decisions. The trade unions have no such power, however many neddies and quangos trade union leaders may sit on; and this is not much less true when a Labour Government is in office.

Still, trade unions are now much stronger than they used to be. But this only reflects a much more important change which has occurred in British society since World War II, namely the new resilience and militancy of trade unionism. It is this which presents governments with a major problem, as compared with the good old days.

The mass of wage earners were not then in trade unions, and most workers were much more ready than now to do what they were told. An image is often

conjured up on the left of a permanently embattled working class, rebellious, untamed, militant, activist. But this is to attribute the characteristics of a minority to the vast majority, which was none of these things, and which tended on the contrary to be pliant rather than militant, and deferential rather than rebellious. The years of mass unemployment in the thirties were not years of militancy but of acceptance, and the "depressed areas" were not zones of rebellion but of resignation. It was only a small minority which then gave more than formal allegiance to a social order beyond the general election of 1935 that Stanley Baldwin obtained a Conservative majority of well over 200 seats over Labour. The rulers of Britain had an easy time then, and were able to manage without much trouble what conflict there was, and did not need trade union leaders to help them do so.

British workers have not become revolutionary since those days; but they have become much more assertive of what they take to be their rights, and the scope of what they take to be their rights has been much enlarged. The advances detonated by the war have been stubbornly defended and extended. Full employment, welfare provisions, the avoidance of any major defeat such as occurred in 1926, the achievement of some notable victories have all produced a very different climate than existed previously. Moreover, the "traditional" working class has been reinforced by large numbers of wage and salary earners, many of whom were until recent years steeped in deferential gentility and could be relied on to offer support to the Conservative cause, and to conservatism in general - teachers, nurses, public service employees, local government officers, civil servants, supervisors and technical staffs. There are many more such people than there were, who have discovered that they need trade unions, and who believe that their unions should advance demands rather than contain them.

It is this change in the ranks of trade unionism which has led governments since the war, beginning with the Attlee Government, to seek agreement with the unions over "wage restraint", voluntarily or by law. What is remarkable about these attempts is not that they were made, but that they regularly broke down. The reason for this is not that trade union leaders would not cooperate, but that the rank and file would not. It was the rank and file which turned what has been called

"corporatism" into a mirage. Ever since the 1940s announcements have periodically been made that class conflict was a thing of the past, that a secret of harmonious collaboration between the "two sides of industry" had been found, with the help of a neutral but benevolent state, the ideology (of the left, of course) out, and pragmatism (i.e. conservatism) in. Meanwhile, the rank and file went on pressing and struggling for what it believed to be its due, and showed in practice that it would resist as best it knew how to resist sacrifices destined as always to bear least heavily on the well-to-do. The people who deplore this "selfishness" glibly speak of "community" and conveniently forget class inequality. They decry the strivings of the poor and call it greed and applaud the greed of the rich and call it initiative. They invoke the "national interest" and overlook the fact that it has no part in the economic system they support. Britain is a unequal, unjust, oligarchic society, such a society cannot produce a cooperative morality. It requires Thatcherism seeks instead to use obedience to authority by wielding a weapon of mass unemployment, re-imposing the rule of the market areas where it had been beaten by, and by strengthening the repressive power of the state. As the integrity of the working class cannot be achieved, it is its disintegration that must be sought. This is a difficult enterprise. Mass unemployment for a time reduces wage demands; but must also serve to discredit further system it is intended to strengthen, to stiffen the temper it is intended to stifle. So must the attack on welfare and collective services that is part of the strategy. Keynes could not do integration; Friedman will not do submission.

In a previous era, social cohesion was based on the passivity, pliancy and deference of the bulk of a working class. Things are different now: the price of social cohesion is social equality. That is why it is by the present social order. What Britain needs in order to deal with its problem is a socialist new deal.

A socialist new deal is impossible without strong popular support. This is even more probably more support for it than the nature of public debate would suggest; but clearly enough. The political scene in crisis - overcrowded - with actors who main purpose is precisely to ward support for socialist renewal, and the outcome of whose endeavour is to strengthen prevailing structures of privilege and power. This is obvious the vocation of Conservatives, in medium, or wet, who believe in a system and equate it with the law. By contrast, Labour in opposition proclaims its vocation as being to change the system, but proceeds to office to defend it, and turns not on enemies but on its own activists. A least this is what Labour Government have always done; and even though frantic efforts are now being made to persuade "the public" that the Labour Party has been taken over irretrievably by the revolutionary left, there is little ground so far for thinking that the course of a future Labour Government would be very different from that of previous ones. The Liberal Party has never given any indication that it has anything particularly wrong with its foundations and the main features of the system. As for the newly-minted Social Democrats, most of them are clearly very nice ladies and gentlemen with a social conscience. For all that prattle in which some of them choose to indulge about wanting a "classless society", they do not pose the slightest problem or threat to existing class power; nor, to be fair, would they want to pose such a threat. The main effect of their endeavours can only be to make a little more difficult the erosion of that power.

The fact that Britain needs radical renewal in its economic, social and political structures does not mean that it will soon get it. The system is still very strong. Meanwhile, reactionaries and authoritarian tendencies already at large in British society grow, and feed upon the frustrations, fears and anxieties produced by decline and despair. Yet, the forces of renewal grow too. It is upon their growth and success that the chances of eventual reclamation depend.

The author is a former professor of politics at Leeds University.

Intelligentsia regroups to fight the British crisis

The British intelligentsia, it has often been suggested, is an oxymoron. But it is too easy to be mesmerized by the cultural syndrome that prompted Bertrand Russell once to declare that no one had ever dared call him an intellectual to his face. We need not doubt that syndrome is that of a social layer no less "British" or "intellectual" for all its disarming traits of character. It is more pertinent here to trace the main features of this intelligentsia in its contemporary formations, in an attempt to disclose something of its ideological and political disposition at a time when its most fixed habits are being challenged. The relevant time-span, for this purpose, is about 40 years; its base-line is the war.

It is not always appreciated how fundamentally different the inter-war intelligentsia was from its later counterpart. There are, of course, some mythical versions of the difference, and as more of contemporary popular culture comes to resemble an endless repertory of costume dramas, these versions become more potent: manichean politics, Weimar, cultural life as instant camp or photomontage; and then drab little England, Jim in his redbrick and, somewhere out there, Anger. None of this is mere invention, and some of it is extremely important. But the fundamental organizing contrasts between the earlier and the later intelligentsia can be understood as having been determined by the succession in institutional dominance of the university, publishing, and the press and electronic media. The dominance of the first lasted for the first 60 or so years of the Third Republic, until 1930, when the high period of publishing began; this in turn lasted more than 30 years, the fateful year 1968 marking the triumph of the media. It is obvious at a glance that this periodization cannot be mapped on to the history of British culture. But the national contrast goes deeper still, for the pattern of institutional succession was different too. In Britain, the first of its two movements was reversed, the war years marking the transition from an intellectual culture led by publishing and associated literary institutions to the more commanding institutions and ethos were academic, or, more broadly, educational.

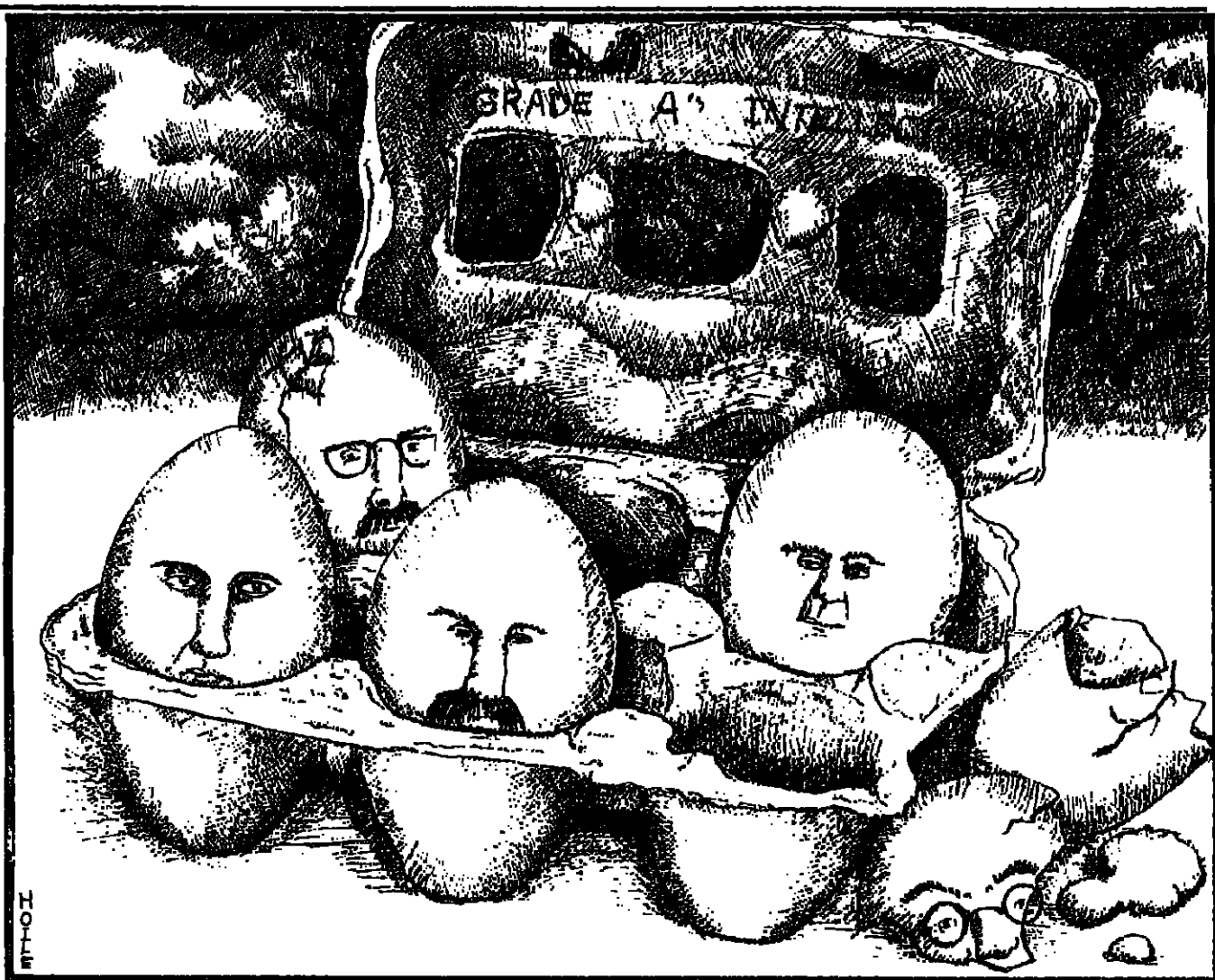
The prime means of intellectual organization in inter-war Britain was the periodical. The 1920s and 1930s depended upon weekly, monthly and quarterly publications to a degree that was unknown to - and widely forgotten by - later decades. Overshadowing this culture were the massive shapes of Oxford and Cambridge, and there were also the increasingly important "civic" universities that would do much to displace it. But the main sites of intellectual influence were the lay cultural institutions of the capital: the *New Statesman*, Rickword's *Calendar of Modern Letters*, Eliot's *Criterion*, the *Left Review*, to name several. It was, correspondingly, a fictional culture. Such journals were the organizing centres of distinct and contending ideological, artistic and political rearguard belletrism was bunkered in the *London Mercury*, the "high" intellectual right congress in the *Criterion*; the most visible of London's intellectual circles was the Bloomsbury group, its most organized and combative the Communist and popular-frontist writers around the *Left Review* and *New Writing*. Moreover, the universities were not entirely cloistered from these conditions of deep and public intellectual and political controversy: *Scrutiny* was the instrument of perhaps the most energetic of all intellectual factions.

Yet *Scrutiny*, with its "anti-academic" sponsorship of a university discipline, foreshadowed the fate of this pattern of intellectual life. By the early 1950s it had all but disappeared. *Left Review* was wound up in 1938, the *Criterion* in the following year. Cyril Connolly's *Horizon* ceased operation a decade later, and was soon followed by *Scrutiny* and the Communist Party's *Modern Quarterly*. New ventures like the independent *Left Politics and Letters* or the Communist *Arena* were short-lived. Only one new journal prospered: *Encounter*, representative of an altogether different culture. It was there, as it happened, that the Irish poet Anthony Cronin complained of a depreciation of "creative" work by a newly presumptuous academic "criticism". This was only one index of a general cultural shift. By the middle of the decade, much of the lay intellectual culture had been subordinated, despoiled or marginalized by the specialist intelligentsia of the universities.

General economic and social changes played an important part in this passage. The economics of publishing were objectively more favourable to independent cultural ventures before the war, and the circumstances of the early post-war years - paper rationing and the Korean inflation - exerted their own destructive pressures. Besides, as the intelligentsia became steadily more "popular" in its social composition, private incomes were less and less often available as a compensatory resort. But the decisive conditions of this shift were political. The outcome of the war was a major change of direction in British society, with both "negative" and "positive" consequences for the general disposition of the intelligentsia.

The "negative" effect was induced by the reestablishment of British and international politics. The social reforms enacted by the Labour government, coming after a climactic

Francis Mulhern concludes our series on the present intellectual scene with a look at the UK



national trial and consolidated within the new alignments of the Cold War, greatly reduced the political tensions of the 1930s and reconciled the intelligentsia to the broad purposes of its parent state. The automatic result was a rapid dwindling of the old factional associations, and political quietism spread rapidly through the intelligentsia, so much so that American anti-Communist intellectuals were soon complaining of their British counterparts' want of enthusiasm for the new western crusade. The accompaniment of this political diminution was a growing intellectual particularism. Relatively free now of large political preoccupations, intellectuals withdrew into their separate professional activities. Novelists wrote novels, poets poems, and teachers - what else? - taught.

This "negative" circumstance did not wholly account for the new posture, however. In the United States, for example New York publishing continued to support a cohesive intellectual milieu outside the academy. Even if many of its members now drew their salaries from university work. Equally important in the British development was the "political" dimension of the post-war political settlement. One of the most salient features of the new Britain was the social centrality accorded to education. The temperate prospectus of British social democracy, as qualified by Butlerian conservatism, depended less on nationalization and fiscal redistribution than on an expanding educational system. Education would stimulate applied scientific intelligence and form the skilled workers required to operate its technologies. Duty extended, it would promote equality, opening all citizens to talents irrespective of their social provenance.

At the same time, it would "humanize" ensuring that technological modernization and the exercise of citizenship remained faithful overall to the abiding values of English cultural tradition. Education was the prime medium of a social transformation in which there would be no losers - and so the social role of the intellectuals, who were teachers in the main, became unprecedentedly important. It mattered little what their individual political opinions might be, and still less that many were involved in specialties whose "social relevance" was elusive. The fact remained that they had been recruited en masse to the service of "Butskellite" meliorism and this quite simply because of what they were professionally.

The collective personality of the intelligentsia, including its stolid distaste of flighty, Frenchified "intellectuals", was formed by this development above all others. There were no

"intellectuals" in that proverbial sense, because that was not the kind of role to which the intelligentsia was, in its main sectors, ideologically assigned. Neither were there "writers". In the American sense of the word, which begins with newspaper reporters, and continues right to the point where the equally generic "scholar" takes over, vocational particularism extended to the relatively marginal and dispersed practitioners of contemporary literature. No, there were only professionals (and amateurs) of one kind or another; and above all there was "the teacher", in whose image the intelligentsia found its down-to-earth apotheosis.

The 1960s were in some ways the zenith of this culture, witnessing a new wave of university expansion and the heyday of "progressive" experimentation in the classroom. But even before the 1950s, were out, the emergence of the New Left had begun to threaten it. *Universities and Left Review* began the elaboration of a socialist critique directed specifically at the culture and politics of "affluent" Britain, and the New Left Clubs held out the promise of committed intellectual work beyond the confines of the academy. The clubs did not last, but there soon followed the shocks of the later decade, as a newly diversified socialism intersected with a thriving youth culture and a more challenging international political climate to generate the student insurgency of 1968-69. Within the established institutions of the intelligentsia, a new process of political polarization began, and outside them independent cultural and political initiatives proliferated.

The decisive blows fell in the 1970s, with the onset of the second slump, the fall of the Heath government, and the rise of the Scottish and Welsh national movements. The recession presented a configuration that appeared to falsify the most trusted Keynesian verities and the mellorist agendas based upon them. Contrary to every Fabian precept, the unions embarked on an expressly political campaign and, invading the sanctity of the electoral process itself, pressed it to the point of victory. Scottish and Welsh nationalists directly challenged the Westminster parliament itself as an institution of representative government. The impact of all this on the intelligentsia was comparable to that of the first world war on an earlier generation of Liberal intellectuals. For the second time in 60 years the Idea of Progress had been confounded.

There followed a swerve to the right, as the liberal-Fabian centre of British intellectual life began to crumble. Paul Johnson, once editor of the *New Statesman*, launched a ferocious assault on the unions, and in 1977 produced the publishing event of the

year with his *Enemies of Society*, a hymn of praise to a multi-millennial "middle class" athirst for liberty. Professor Julius Gould presented his report on "The Marxist infiltration of higher education", with the object of ousting Marxism from its new-found placements in the universities and polytechnics. The writers around the *Black Papers* returned to the attack with fresh strength. It is hard to gauge the success of interventions like Johnson's or Gould's; but the resonance of the 1977 *Black Paper* and allied conservative sorties was deafening. More than either Johnson or Gould, they struck at what was by now one of the most vulnerable elements in the social formula of the post-war period. It was altogether fitting that, as he initiated the self-dissemination of British social democracy in the later 1970s, James Callaghan should have launched a "great debate" on education.

For what other institution had so plainly and comprehensively failed the nation since 1945? After 30 years of steady leftward pressure in educational discussion, the roles of "orthodoxy" and "iconoclasm" were suddenly reversed. What was the value of a "socially aware" curriculum when British industry was starved of technical expertise? What was the value of an "egalitarian" comprehensive system if it banished "excellence"? What was the value of "self-expression" in the classroom if it nurtured a generation of innumerate vandals? Henceforward, education would have to pay its way, pound for devalued pound.

The struggle that symbolized the depreciation of the accumulated post-war wisdom was fought over William Tyndale school in North London. The educational practice of Tyndale, as it increasingly bewildered staff insisted, was little more than the cutting edge of accepted "progressive" pedagogy, and its broader perspectives were not at odds with those of a traditionally mellorist profession. What the Tyndale teachers did not fully appreciate, as they went down to defeat, harried by a local Labour Party and arraigned by a Labour-controlled authority, dis-trusted by Labour-voting parents and abandoned by their union, was that everything had changed around them. The arrival of Rhodri Boyson in the DES merely confirmed what the crisis of social democracy had already determined. Teachers, as post-war Britain had created and cherished them, were ideologically under notice of dismissal.

In the relative hall that followed the General Election, the Tyndale affair may have seemed, after all, an isolated incident. But it was not: a similar combination of worsening institutional strain and neo-conservative initiative has only recently culminated in another

BOOKS

Rossetti

The Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: modes of self-expression by Joann Rees
Cambridge University Press, £16.50
ISBN 0 521 23537 5

Rossetti's allure for biographers — founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, artist, choral addict, lover of Elizabeth Siddal, Fanny Cornforth and Jane Morris — has often diverted attention away from his poetic art. In this excellent study Joann Rees ignores such bizarre episodes as Rossetti's retrieval of his early poems from his wife's long-buried coffin, and instead leads us critically into the territory of his poetry, "where images are the only language and strange and compelling sights are to be seen".

For Dr Rees Rossetti's greatness as a poet is limited only because his best gifts are confined to a small area — the disclosure, through images and symbols that are here given a piercing, sensitive analysis, of the often painful emotions of the inner life. His poetry reflects his own profound experience of tension between the mystic and the sensual, and his awareness of the dangerously narrow divide between God's work and the devil's. Dr Rees shows Rossetti to have been "an explorer ahead of his time" in introspection of an intimate region of the psyche.

Pre-Raphaelitism represented a radical alternative culture in the face of a new and depersonalizing industrialism: its paintings and poetry were fundamentally congenial, not least in their ambition for realism. Yet, as Dr Rees shows, what was achieved was often not realism at all: Rossetti's best poetry blends thought, fantasy and surrealism into something entirely new and elusive of definition. In making a sound case for his claims upon our attention, Dr Rees constantly illuminates whatever is unique in Rossetti's expression of self.

When he is daring in his use of image and symbol, Rossetti achieves real poetic originality, as in the "Wit-luwood" sonnets, which take the reader "to the borders of a visionary landscape". But fear of obscurity often breaks his nerve, Dr Rees's assertion that Rossetti could have been a remarkable symbolist poet is endorsed by fine analyses of individual poems. A sensitive chapter on Dante's influence shows that Dante provides not only a vocabulary of symbolism for Rossetti but also an intellectual framework for his ideas, which in turn gives "shape and character" to Rossetti's view of life.

That view is best expressed in the sonnet form, which enjoyed a Victorian revival. Dr Rees identifies the special qualities of *The House of Life* by comparing it with Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (the most popular sequence of its time) and Christina Rossetti's *Monna Innominata* sonnets. This is immensely instructive in showing how Rossetti's sequence is the only one truly to transcend its age and to embody (in his own phrase) "life representative". A new rhetoric in these love poems conveys a new introspective consciousness. Both Rossetti create an openly self-expressive language of the soul which is quite unlike that of Morris, who turns outward to timeless myth.

Dr Rees argues for "considerable modification" of the view that Rossetti was "entirely an alien offshoot from the main branch of Victorian life and literature". Rightly, for he shares the common fears of his age and Tennyson's view of art's relevance to life, and he rejects the authority of aestheticism. Yet at last Rossetti emerges as both a man of his own age and one displaced in time and country, a dichotomy which generated his imaginative achievement.

Richard H. Taylor

Dr Taylor is senior lecturer in English at Stockwell College, University of London Institute of Education.

Connoisseurs of ancient art

Taste and the Antique: the lure of classical sculpture 1500-1900 by Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny
Yale University Press, £20.00
ISBN 0 300 02641 2

"Many a second-rate and battered fragment" has inspired an artist in the past, argue the authors of this book, which aims to provide a series of illustrations of the principal sculptures which at any one time were accepted as masterpieces. Rather than attempt to study the history of attitudes to ancient art for the period 1500-1900, the authors focus on the reactions of travellers, writers of guidebooks, and other connoisseurs to the works of art on show.

The book consists of a narrative text of 14 short chapters (usually of about eight pages, including illustrations), followed by a closely printed, two-column catalogue of antiquities, the 208 pages of which cover 95 entries. The text is arranged chronologically, although the chapter titles would indicate thematic divisions: three deal with the French thirst for antiquities, from Francis I to the Empire; three discuss casts and copies and their proliferation in the sixteenth,

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; three more cover the scholarly aspects of the subject over the same period, and others detail collections and discoveries in Rome, Florence and Naples. Full references are provided to both text and catalogue, complemented by long and detailed bibliography and index, and good quality illustrations.

The catalogue is the most important section of the book, and includes many famous works from *Agrippina* to the *Zingara*. The entries (which might perhaps have been better arranged in order of discovery, rather than alphabetically) will be of great use to students of the history of art who lack that classical grounding which our forebears took for granted. Because the selection is largely restricted to statues, it cannot give a truly balanced view of what was available at any one time; and although the selection is stylistically fair for the period 1500-1700, it becomes less so as the eighteenth century progresses and more works are brought to light (nearly one quarter of the entries were found after 1700). Thus the *Venus de Milo* is included — but where are the Parthenon marbles, the popularization of which might be taken to signify one

of the turning points in the history of taste from Roman to Greek?

What, indeed, is taste, and how was it formed? What is the position of the catalogued antiquities in the formulation of a canon of taste, or an aesthetic system? The question is prompted by the authors' demonstration that little critical acumen was involved in the process of admiring antiquities: critical categories of any solidity are rare, as are disagreements about relative worth. Among artists antique works of art hold a different position, sometimes as the very bed-rock upon which the Renaissance style was formulated, sometimes as the spur in their own stylistic development: the universal admiration given by the connoisseurs was not the path followed by artists, for their role was creative rather than imitative. Except for those connoisseurs rich or forceful enough to acquire original antiquities, the story of *Taste and the Antique* is one of copies, imitations and decorative art.

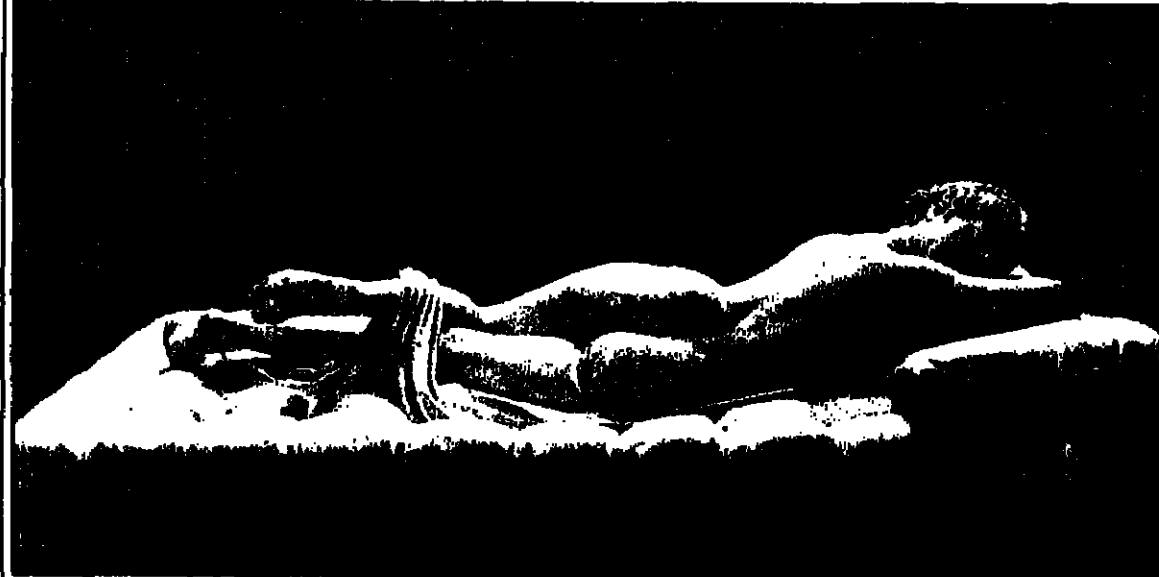
The authors survey the whole range of interest in the antique in their 14 chapters, from museums and collecting to techniques of reproduction, the history of antiquarianism, and ideas in art education. Four hundred years is a long period to cover, but it could be

treated more straightforwardly than this; and it is perhaps a consciousness of the breadth of their task which induces the authors to give titles for their chapters which are frequently too ambitious for the contents, and sometimes misleading ("Control and Codification", for example, is mostly about the Bolognese and Ludovisi). The breadth of the chapters contributes to the impression that the whole book is rushed; this is confirmed by some garbled sentences, unrelated sequential paragraphs, and a treatment of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries which is totally inadequate. The bibliography, although it is, omits important work by Gould, Huelsen, Seznec, Schuch, Taylor and Vermeule, to name a few. And so broad is the field attempted that few parts of it are covered satisfactorily, even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; thus it would have been helpful to know more about restoration and faking, or about some of the decidedly cool reactions to discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and what those reactions portended for the history of taste.

Perhaps, indeed, the reader is left a little confused by the wealth of detail and evidence of wide reading which this book contains, for there are no clear theoretical foundations laid for the story the authors tell which is one of acquisition and appreciation rather than of logical development based on ideas. Choosing to take the part of the (often vacuous) connoisseurs, rather than that of artists (whose lives in works of art was frequently much more down to earth) and what is more, by omitting a full account of the kinds of antiquities the Renaissance inherited from the ancient world, Haskell and Penny chart a series of after-effects rather than of innovations. *Taste and the Antique* has decided merits, but it leaves plenty of room for further research on the lure of classical sculpture, 1500-1900.

Michael Greenhalgh

Dr Greenhalgh is lecturer in the history of art at the University of Leicester.



The marble hermaphrodite in the Louvre, a copy of which Lady Townshend said was "the only happy couple she ever saw".

Blake's uniformly changing vision

Blake and Freud by Diana Hume George
Cornell University Press, £9.00
ISBN 0 8014 1286 2

Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth by Leopold Damrosch, Jr.
Princeton University Press, £14.00 and £5.20
ISBN 0 691 06433 4 and 10095 0

These two books on Blake are refreshingly challenging and provocative. *Blake and Freud* compares the way in which these two thinkers explore important areas of common interest, such as the Oedipus complex, the development of consciousness, the conception of femininity, and the nature and value of art. *Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth*, a vast and comprehensive work, attempts to reassess the character of Blake's symbolism, the nature of his mythology, and the significance of his individual vision of truth.

Diana Hume George's writing in *Blake and Freud* is lively, sharp, and speculative. She insists on the differences as well as the similarities between Freud and Blake, and she herself maintains a valuable distance from both. Through ample use of quotations, she lets their texts speak for themselves. *The Book of The* confronts "On Narcissism", and the Oedipal situations in the *Songs of Experience* and *Urizen* are set next to powerful passages from *Ego and Id* and *Tiam and Taboo*. The *Vision of the Daughters of Albion* struggles with and against the argument of "Civilized

Sexual Morality"; and, on pages of parallel text, passages of Blake's passionate prophetic faith resist the grim conclusion of *Civilization and Its Discontents*.

As a result, fascinating points of contact emerge. Freud's "expansive" interpretation of the Oedipus complex as containing the seeds of so many later attitudes is seen in relation to the nature of Blake's language which so characteristically moves from the emotional and psychological to the religious, social, and political. We find both Blake and Freud struggling with the problem of bisexuality and its momentous development into "masculinity" and "femininity". We also see striking contrasts: Blake's preoccupation with the ambiguities of identity within Oedipal situations (the child in the father, the mother in the daughter), his fear of sublimation, and his exploration of non-genital sexuality, and the "erotization of the entire personality" (Marcuse) as a genuine alternative to the normal erotic "war of death".

This book is also important in that, as a feminist work, it takes a positive attitude to the very negative views of women in both Freud and Blake. Following Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, she sees both Freud's and Blake's work on women and sex as, in part, a profound critical study of the patriarchal societies in which these writers found themselves. The one serious limitation of this book, however, is that it does not deal with the most recent development in Freudian theory and literary

criticism: there is no mention here of the Lacanian re-reading of Freud.

Leopold Damrosch, Jr.'s *Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth* is a major review of all the most difficult areas in Blake's work. It deals with the problems of perception and vision, the nature of the "self", the problem of dualism and monism, the conception of God and Jehovah and Jesus, the character of Los's creativity, and the problems surrounding the nature and significance of art. The book is densely written, and packed with allusions to philosophy, religious thought, and contemporary aesthetic theory.

At times the presentation is pretentious — this is not a book for the beginner in the Blake universe — but because of Professor Damrosch's knowledge of Blake and range of reference, and because his approach is so questioning, it is often highly illuminating. The Blake that emerges here is a thinker wrestling with the fundamental problems in western philosophy, religion, and aesthetics, and trying creatively to mould into one myth the irreconcilable contradictions of his own perceptions and beliefs.

The book emphasizes Blake's debt to empiricism, idealism, neo-platonism, and gnosticism, but at the same time underlines the uniqueness of his vision. A powerful chapter on the "problem of dualism" discusses Blake's "troubled monism", the deep ambiguities in his attitudes to sex, and the vigorous paradoxes in his conception of Beulah and Eden. A chapter on "God and man" explores on the one hand the complex iconography of the

divine in St Paul, Boethius, and gnosticism which Blake uses in his own conceptions of Jehovah and Elohim, and on the other Blake's highly ambiguous use of the imagery of the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection in his portrayal of Jesus.

The book is challenging finally in that it presents Blake who, in terms of his own theories of art and his own artistic achievements, resists both the terms of traditional criticism and the newer manoeuvres of structuralist and post-structuralist. In the final chapter Professor Damrosch asserts what is implicit throughout: that Blake's poems do not possess "form" in the accepted sense of the word, that his conception of, and use of, the symbol is at variance with the "fulfilling" nature of the symbol in Romantic theory and poetry; that his conception of language "contradicts Saussure's assumption that for the individual the system of 'langue' is wholly determined and inviolable; that Blake's monistic 'dream of visionary truth', however troubled, is incompatible with modern theories of 'deconstructive licence'; and that no literary criticism rooted in the subjective of phenomenology can do justice to the strength of Blake's uniformly changing vision.

Not all these ideas are fully worked out in this book, but it is significant that they can be formulated and argued that they should be debated.

Frank Stack

Frank Stack is lecturer in English at the University of Southampton.

Selected Braudel

On History by Fernand Braudel
translated by Sarah Matthews
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £10.95
ISBN 0 297 77880 3

Despite his world fame as a historian, Fernand Braudel still has an introduction to the English-speaking world. It is true that he has been taken much more seriously since the publication in English, in 1972-1973, of his massive work on the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II; but some, at least, of the criticisms levelled against it suggest that the critics do not always appreciate what he was trying to do. The publication of his still more massive, three-volume work on "material civilization", economic life and capitalism (two thirds of which still awaits translation), has not made his ideas much more accessible to anyone who found them puzzling before.

It would thus be extremely useful to have a brief, introductory, sympathetically critical study of Braudel and of his place in the history of historical writing — and in the history of contemporary thought. Until such a study is written, this volume of collected essays will remain a useful approach to Braudel. It consists of a translation of his *Essai sur l'Histoire*, a collection of essays first published in 1969. Braudel is a book man rather than an essay man, but it must be added that this selection from his articles is not the best that could have been made. Too much of the volume is composed of book reviews, discussions of the work of Otto Brunner on social history, for example, or Maximilien Serre on historical geography, or Marvin Harris on a small town in Brazil. Brunner and Serre are important figures, and their work ought not to have been translated into English when it first appeared, but the opportunity was missed and as a result a translation of what Braudel wrote about them in the 1940s and 1950s is of somewhat limited interest today. As for Harris, he is rather better known today as the author of *Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches* — he would have been interesting to have had Braudel's comments on that. It might have been more useful to have replaced these rather dated reviews by Braudel's article on sixteenth-century Venice, or his short study of the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century — both pieces being valuable but somewhat inaccessible — and also to have included in the volume the fascinating reflections on his own work which Braudel contributed to two American journals in the 1970s.

However, this volume does include some important essays, three in particular, all of them dating from the late 1950s. "History and the Social Sciences: the *Longue Durée*" has been translated into English twice before, but remains useful as the most important programmatic statement Braudel has published, explaining why he rejected the history of events (*histoire événementielle*), as he calls it, and what he has put in its place. A second major piece is his "History and Sociology", expounding his view of these two disciplines as complementary because both are "global", embracing all fields of human activity. "The History of Civilizations" is the third important essay, expounding his view on the cultural history practised by Burckhardt, Toynbee and others, and including some penetrating observations on cultural borrowings and, equally important, refusals to borrow.

To read these three essays is a stimulating experience in itself. They also have their uses as a libel for anyone afraid of drowning in Braudel's Mediterranean.

Peter Burke

Peter Burke is a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Henry VI by Bertram Wolfe
Byre Methuen, £19.95
ISBN 0 413 32080 4

The Victorians wrote mawkishly about English medieval kings, such as Henry VI, whom they saw as uniting the nation to cut a figure in the world; by contrast twentieth-century historians have appreciated those they have seen as dextrous manipulators of centralizing bureaucracy, such as the creditably numerate Henry VII. On both counts Henry VI failed to attract biographers. Today historically-minded Englishmen have a dismal new phenomenon to identify in their nation's past: the period of national decline.

The period of Henry VI's adult rule (1437-61) witnessed spectacular decline — the dissolution of English "empire" in France and a post-imperial spin into domestic strife. After Henry's death in 1471, Englishmen softened painful memories by recalling him as a model of piety like that earlier useless, butchered king, Edward II. Henry enjoyed a successful posthumous career as a miracle-working saint. This transformation, Dr Wolfe argues in his scholarly and thorough biography of Henry, has obscured

the historic ruler, undistinguished even for piety or the enlightened promotion of education.

Wolfe is primarily concerned to weigh Henry's responsibility for disasters — a tricky task, since sophisticated contemporaries, expect under extreme provocation, inclined to discretion about defects in something as awesome as the royal will. They concentrated on long-term causes of decline. Foreigners saw the root of Henry's troubles in an eruption of the historically notorious malevolence in the national character of his English subjects; such an explanation had an appeal for that resolute francophile Henry Tudor. Englishmen came to favour the originally partisan explanation that the Lancastrian usurpation of 1399 cancelled the policy. Following the late K. B. McFarlane, most medievalists have largely blamed Henry's inability. Wolfe's accusation is sharper: Henry is not to be allowed the alibi of cowering behind his study door, but like a delinquent Stuart before the magisterial Maccabys, is hauled out for judgment as a positive, even somewhat sinister menace.

Wolfe's Henry (at least up to his 1453 breakdown) is a vigorous, at times vindictive man of business, impatient on and sometimes probably the author of often vacillating, con-

tradictory and disastrous policies. The theme is strikingly developed in an admirable analysis of the steps to the fall of Lancastrian France: Wolfe is surely right in insisting on its centrality to the decline of Henry's authority in England, though less convincing in deflating the importance of purely domestic causes of this. Despite his confident tone, much remains obscure about Henry — not surprisingly, considering the patchy sources. It remains doubtful why Henry VI's son, so carefully nurtured in royal duties, for so long neglected fundamental ones of defending and providing justice in person for his subjects — and, apparently, of hegemonizing an heir. And why magnates, whose predecessors had habitually demonstrated with incompetent kings, were so slow to criticize him.

The question of how far Henry was a puppet is difficult to resolve. Wolfe is perhaps too ready to take administrative and diplomatic evidence of Henry's early activity as signifying his real authorship of policy moves, and the later absence of such evidence as signifying his passivity. In 1460 a councillor thought it worthwhile for the king to assume a tentative reflecting on current military problems — not long after the latter had been studying relevant tactical doctrine during a

campaign. To illuminate late Lancastrian policy-making further we need a full-scale study of councillors and courtiers, and their principal connexions. In that cranky engine of the emerging early modern state, the royal household, their facious pressures might constrict and dictate to even the most mis-terful royal will: Dr Ives has suggested that Henry VIII was at times "the creature of faction . . . the man to be manipulated".

As to Henry VI's personality, more light might be shed by putting the comparatively little we know about aspects of his piety — such as his extraordinarily ostentatious foundations, his extreme fear of witchcraft — and his notorious audaciousness — more firmly into the context of trends in secular devotion. Moreover, on his recovery from a breakdown, two lords "wept for joy" when coming from the presence. Could it be that he was capable of arousing great personal affection — though not in his biographer? And that such an ability might provide one clue to understanding both the historic and the mythical Henry?

Anthony Goodman

Anthony Goodman is senior lecturer in history at the University of Edinburgh.

Power struggles in a declining dynasty

1587, a Year of no Significance: the Ming dynasty in decline by Ray Huang
Yale University Press, £12.60
ISBN 0 300 02518 1

This title is gimmicky and misleading. The book is not a one-year slice of history but an account of the political, philosophical, and economic weaknesses of the Ming state, as reflected in the frustrating lives of the Wan-li emperor (reigned 1572-1620) and five other prominent individuals during the last decades of the sixteenth century.

The Wan-li emperor has been scorned by orthodox historians for going on strike against his own bureaucracy, spurning his chief ministers, and giving free rein to the machinations of palace eunuchs. The main reason for his sulking was that his ministers would not agree to the eldest son of his favourite concubine being installed as his heir. But Professor Huang takes the emperor to be an intelligent young man who sees his own individuality crushed under the weight

of his ritual responsibilities and sinks into cynicism when he observes that, in the world outside the palace, the reality never measures up to the pretence of conformity with Confucian values.

One who did try to uphold Confucian values was the eccentric official Hai Jui. He submitted a memorial roundly condemning the Chia-ching emperor (reigned 1521-67) for being useless as father, husband, and ruler. He had taken the precaution of buying a coffin and saying goodbye to his family beforehand, but the emperor was so flummoxed by this unprecedented rashness that Hai Jui was spared the death penalty, whereupon he burst into tears. Thereafter reputed to be the most virtuous of bureaucrats, he was assigned a tough provincial governorship, but his attempts to act the model official foundered on the rocks of local self-interest and he was forced out of office within a year.

1587 was certainly a year of no significance for the strong-willed Grand Secretary Chang Ch'ing-chung, since by then he had been dead five years. He had been in power during the Wan-li emperor's childhood, when he

toilishly tried to impose efficiency and uniformity upon a country whose administration theoretically depended on the individual moral leadership of the 20,000 degree-holders who ran the bureaucracy. What mattered far more than all his well-meaning proposals for reform was the fact that he had departed from convention by failing to retire for the mourning period of 27 months on the death of his father. This was a grave offence since the cosmic order and the well-being of the empire alike depended on the court functioning in harmony with the teaching of the ancient sages.

The other three of Professor Huang's heroes had similarly depressing fates. Chang's successor, Shen Shih-hung could never live down the disgrace of having been his protégé. Ch'ü Chi-kuang, the most brilliant general of the dynasty, died in poverty and disgrace. The individualist philosopher Li Chih had his books proscribed and slit his own throat in prison.

Although his main theme is the tragedy of these six, Professor Huang is on terms of close familiarity with the public life of the late Ming period. He

might usefully have made more concessions to the reader who is less involved in this world, but in general this is an excellent contribution to our understanding of the late Ming period, which benefits greatly both from advances in the study of Ming intellectual life and from the author's own researches in economic history. One of Professor Huang's merits is that he does not neglect to describe the physical setting in which events took place and to intersperse his more abstract discussions on the interplay of character and political institutions with vivid descriptions of court life. The reader interested in modern China will recognize familiar themes in the perils of individualism, the techniques of denigration, and the imperative need for conformity. And the tourist who pays the routine visit to the Wan-li emperor's tomb on his way back from the Great Wall will now be able to get a clearer idea of the man and his age.

Raymond Dawson

Raymond Dawson is a fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

Contributing to the rise of Moscow

Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: a study of Byzantine-Russian relations in the fourteenth century by John Meyendorff
Cambridge University Press, £30.00
ISBN 0 521 23183 3

Out of a mass of heterogeneous source material scattered across Old Russian chronicles and Saints' Lives, the documents of Byzantine patriarchs, Franciscan generals and Avignon popes, and works relating to Lithuania, Poland and the Mongols' Golden Horde, Professor Meyendorff has carved a subtle and coherent interpretation of Russia's relations with Byzantium in the fourteenth century.

The core of the book is the role of the Byzantine Orthodox Church in the rise of Russia or, more precisely, of Moscow. Meyendorff glances back to the introduction of Christianity from paganism in the tenth century and recounts the creation in Russia of a metropolitanate under the authority of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. He emphasizes the authority of the Byzantine Patriarchate over the Russian Church, which was the only structure holding together the various Russian principalities. This authority survived the Mongols' sack of Kiev and

ferocious subjugation of the Russian princes. Meyendorff contends that the Byzantine authorities regarded Russia consistently as a single "nation", ecclesiastically united under a single head.

In the fourteenth century various potentates laid claim to the territories of Kievan Russia. Some, such as the princes of Tver and Moscow, were both descendants of Kievan princes and tributaries of the Mongol khan. Others, such as the virile, semi-pagan rulers of Lithuania, might well be one institution which could give legitimacy and, indeed, definition to these upstart successor-states was the Church. So they vied to become the residence of the metropolitan "of Kiev and all Russia" (a now somewhat fantastic title). Or they sought to carve out fresh metropolitanates continuously with their lands. Either course meant diplomatic dealings with Byzantium, whose Emperor and Patriarch shared responsibility for the Russian metropolitanate and for the creation of any new ones.

Meyendorff discusses the fitful, short-lived metropolitanates of Galicia and Lithuania which Byzantium did sanction, and poses the question why Byzantium generally favoured a single metropolitanate, based at Moscow in the far north-east. It is inevitably very difficult to estimate

how far Byzantium was actually taking the initiative in choosing upstart Moscow as a fit place for its metropolitan to reside in, and how far it simply responded to the fact of Moscow's pre-eminence.

One might also question how far Byzantium's insistence on Russian Church unity was inspired by a positive sense of Russia as a "nation", or by pastoral considerations. For, as Meyendorff himself recognizes, the Orthodox of Galicia might well be "underadministered" by a metropolitan who lived in distant Moscow. Perhaps Byzantium clung, when it could, to a single metropolitanate "of all Russia" from sheer administrative conservatism? Nevertheless, Meyendorff does marshal a host of documents demonstrating the interest in Russia shown by Byzantine churchmen, and by statesmen such as Emperor John VI Cantacuzene. This will come as a surprise to those who dismiss Byzantium as an entirely introspective culture. Moreover, he demonstrates conclusively that Byzantium did significantly help the emergence of Moscow.

Jonathan Shepard

Jonathan Shepard is a fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

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Princeton University Press, £4.75
ISBN 0 691 05317 0

These two books have a similar theme. The one plays it, so to speak, on a saxophone, the other on a violin. The one, written by a sociologist, is racy, anecdotal, repetitious, but mercifully free from jargon. The other, written by a historian, is elegant, terse (it is only 75 pages long), and tightly packed with ideas. Both books reflect on the familiar climactic of industrial society, a society sustaining itself by importing its energy from the past and stealing its other non-renewable resources from the future.

Why add to what must by now be a kilometre of bookselves loaded with this theme? Well (for that matter), why do clergymen go on preaching about sin? Because the climactic, like sin, is still with us and we do not know how to deal with it; and, in very different ways, each of these books throws a little more light on the nature of the climactic.

The message of *Overshoot* is that America has not yet learnt the lesson taught by OPEC and the Yom Kippur War in 1973; nor will she learn unless Americans change their framework of assumptions (yes, Kuhn with his paradigms is drawn into the argument). The new paradigm will have to be ecological, by which Catton means simply the inclusion of human beings in the seamless web of nature, and a total rejection of the assumption that human beings have extricated themselves from this web. Nothing new in this, of course (except the use of the word "ecological" like an incantation); Darwin wrote

The Human Impact

Man's Role in Environmental Change

ANDREW GOUDIE

The Human Impact is concerned with the ways in which man has changed and is changing the face of the earth, and with the human component in natural processes and systems. It has been written in the first place for university students of geography and environmental science.

The book opens with a consideration of the development of ideas about man-environment interaction, in particular those relating to population increase and technological change. It discusses the human impact on vegetation, animals, the soil, water and water resources, landforms, and climate and the atmosphere, and, during the book, Dr Goudie analyses the causes and consequences of environmental change. He shows how these processes and phenomena may interact and how the complex of relationships changes with time.

The book concludes with a discussion of the difficulties of isolating the causes of change, and of determining how far these may be natural or man-made, and examines how far the reversibility or modification of environmental processes may be feasible.

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paperback £8.50 (0 631 12009 3)

Basill Blackwell Publisher

about it; so did Shakespeare, when Hamlet said: "We fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots."

Catton does, however, have interesting, if ominous, things to say about the prospect that industrial man will shift from the old framework of assumptions to a new framework; for this would imply a willingness to accept severe austerities before they become inevitable, and an acknowledgement that despite all our exuberant encouragement to under-developed nations, that they would one day be as comfortably off as we are, the debt is now off most of them will never be as well off as we are.

Just as yeast in the wine vat, if left too long, destroys its habitat beyond repair, so (Catton says) the industrial West has already passed a point of no return. The problem before industrial society is no longer how to avoid the climactic; it is how to survive it. Defeatism? Or realism? It is for the reader to decide. In any event, as Catton (and other writers: Heilbroner, Hirsch, Ophuls) remind us, the pressure to reject the old paradigm for a new one is likely to come not through material shortages but through social unrest, anarchy, revolution. When people are starving—perhaps before that, when people are in great masses, unemployed—they are driven to disregard the niceties of the rule of law.

Catton's analogies between ecological concepts and the human situation are not always convincing (you cannot, for instance, apply Clements's concepts of plant succession to human communities). But he has got the courage to remind us that industrial man has no more promise of tenure as a flourishing sub-species than pterodactyls had. His recommendation is to expect the worst: "the less hopeful we assume human prospects to be, the more likely we are to act in ways that will minimize the hardships ahead for our species." Ten years ago, in a brilliant essay on environmental policy, Lynton Caldwell put the case with more eloquence than Catton commands; but there has been little response to his words. What is the point (he wrote) of mitigating disaster if it is coming anyway? And his answer was that "the essence of human dignity, for the individual and for society alike, is to live so that if disaster comes, its advent will have been undeserved."

William McNeill's book, *The Human Condition*, contains one of those felicitous generalizations which only a master of the discipline can make. "Although," he says, "it is absurd to distil the human adventure on earth into the narrow space of two lectures, I propose to do just that." He employs another ecological analogy: parasitism.

Man is beset by two kinds of parasites which, between them, determine his destiny. There are microparasites, causing disease and death in man, his domestic animals, and his crops. There are macroparasites, a label for the kings, barons, dictators, agents of governments, who exploit man by compelling him to pay taxes and rents, or to script him to work for them, or simply confiscate his belongings. Man's long history has been—and still is—a voyage between the Scylla of microparasitism and the Charybdis of macroparasitism. Through medicine and hygiene the ravages by microparasites can be checked, but never fully suppressed. Through political institutions and law the exploitation by macroparasites can be checked, but likewise, not fully suppressed.

McNeill wants the reader magically from the age of hunter-gatherers to the age of trans-national corporations, explaining on the way how changes in these two kinds of parasitism have shaped history. Epidemics of disease, he suggests, were a consequence of concentrations of people into towns or around irrigation areas, just as ravages to crops (and often famine to follow) were a consequence of monocultures. People and plants which survive epidemics become immune by some process of selection, but the microparasite may persist in such populations in a state of benign symbiosis, becoming endemic only to break out again if contact is made with a fresh population. By analogy, the urban dweller, parasitic upon the farmer for food, found it expedient in the course of social evolution to reach some equilibrium with his "host"; and so plunder or extortion of taxes became replaced by barter and trade. Even kings would buy the equipment and provision they needed, rather than seize it, for the long-term effects of seizure were that the merchants disappeared elsewhere.

Macroparasitism has—so McNeill's story goes—become endemic nowadays, except when the equilibrium breaks down and there is war or civil unrest. His conclusion is as sombre as Catton's conclusion in *Overshoot*: "As long as these circumstances persist, stability will remain unattainable in human affairs, however much rulers and managers may desire it." But he does send his reader away with a little twig of hope, not with a rod of resignation. He has "a lively faith in the power of words to alter the way human beings think and act." I share his faith, but whose words will people listen to?

Eric Ashby

Eric Ashby is Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, and a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Woodland patchwork

Ancient Woodland: its history, vegetation and uses in England
by Oliver Rackham
Edward Arnold, £50.00
ISBN 0 7131 2713 6

Some 5,000 years ago the landscape of Britain was clothed in climax forest. This green cloak was no seamless fabric of oak woodland as was once supposed, but a patchwork of linewoods in lowland England, oak, hazel and occasionally ash in the north, pinewoods in the centre, highlands of Scotland and birchwoods in the north of Scotland and on mountains in the Lake district and Wales. Even this patchwork variety ignores the local influences of soil, climate and other ecological factors which produce a further variety within each region in Britain.

Oliver Rackham's fascinating and scholarly book is an account of the history and vegetation of those remnants of ancient woodland which survive from the wildwood of 5,000 years ago. Rackham has pioneered the subject of woodland history based upon an impressive variety of methods. Historical documents, from the Domesday Book which gives a country-wide impression of the extent of woodland, to thirteenth-century records for individual woods, estate maps, legal and crown documents; all are used in the process of historical reconstruction. Field surveys reveal earthworks and surface features which may give clues to the history of a

wood. And information on the type and age of timber taken for building construction can be found in the woodwork of those ancient buildings that still stand.

Vegetation surveys also play their part in this interdisciplinary study. A number of trees and woodland herbs are good indicators of ancient woodland, even when this was established hundreds of years ago. Plant indicators of ancient woodland are sometimes found in hedgebanks which once bordered or were part of woods which are now destroyed.

No place of ancient woodland is untouched by management; indeed, the remaining ancient woodlands owe their survival to their past economic importance. It is clear from Oliver Rackham's marvellous account that the ancient woodlands of England are an historical as well as biological heritage which has been passed down to us through the hands of generations of woodlandmen. The continued existence of these remnants of the wildwood depends upon their intelligent and informed management. More ancient woodland has been lost by grubbing out and coniferization in the past 30 years than at any time since the Norman conquest. The book provides a valuable argument for keeping and managing correctly what we have left.

Jonathan Silverton

Jonathan Silverton is lecturer in biology at the Open University.



Captain Lorenz Braun (Managing Director of the Blackwood Whaling Company) in action in 1908. Taken from *Irish Whales and Whaling* by James Fairley, published by Blackstaff Press at £8.95.

Historiography of surveying and cartography

A History of the Ordnance Survey
edited by W.A. Seymour
Dawson, £35.00
ISBN 0 7129 0979 6

The public has often been criticized for knowing so little about the work of the various official agencies, and of taking their existence for too much for granted. Where these accusations are justified, the fault may lie with the Government and the agencies themselves. It is, for example, incredible that neither the Ordnance Survey, nor the Stationery Office was given, or took, responsibility for publishing this "history". Nowhere does the official symbol of the Ordnance Survey, or the letters HMSO, occur. The history has only appeared because of the initiative and dedication of an ad hoc group of individual administrators and scholars. An absorbing book to read, it is certain to become a much-quoted reference work.

There was nothing inevitable about the rise and development of the Ordnance Survey. Although its emergence in the late eighteenth century represented a fusion of three existing trends, namely, advances in military surveying, civilian cartography, and more general scientific endeavour, the creation of a national map-making body was a huge step forward, the

significance and practicality of which were by no means obvious to those politicians whose patronage was essential if the Survey was to survive and flourish.

In this extremely well organized and written book, the episodic history of the Survey emerges with striking clarity. "Periods of" expansion were closely followed by times of recession and acute uncertainty. The volume ends with accounts of the traumas of the 1930s, reappraisals of the 1960s, and the fresh doubts and promise of further upheavals in the 1970s. Indeed, the major government review of 1978 is cited as the reason for the withdrawal of "official" support from the publication of the history. One might have thought a period of review of political and economic priorities was just the time when an appraisal of past experience was most valuable to the decision-makers. It is salutary to recall, for example, how the Survey's staff was halved by the Geddes "axe" of 1922 in the interests of economies in public expenditure. Only a few years later, the Minister responsible for the Survey was forced to admit that it had all been a terrible mistake. Geddes and his political contemporaries had overlooked "the importance of good maps for almost every kind of social activity". By then, however, the damage was done; the opportunities of what

proved to be the interwar years had been wasted. It was estimated that up to ten years were needed to recruit and train the surveyors needed to retrieve the pre-1922 situation.

Because of the crucial role of the Ordnance Survey, the wealth of fascinating detail in the volume, drawn from primary sources, represents a major contribution to the historiography of surveying and cartography in Britain. Those sections on the progress of the trigonometrical survey, geodetic levelling, and the application of air photography and automated techniques, are particularly important in this respect. The history also brings out the importance of appointing the right man for the job, as exemplified by the personal achievements of William Roy and a succession of Directors-General. There have always been overseas commitments, initially in the Empire and, latterly, in the various theatres of military conflict in Europe, Africa and Asia. Perhaps the cruellest blow to the Survey was the loss of its headquarters in the Southampton blitz of 1940. Besides the immediate disruption, a remarkable archive of manuscript maps and papers was lost.

The history provides a further important dimension to our understanding of how the dramatic changes in the British environment over the past two hundred years have been perceived and monitored. Although the original purpose of the Survey's large-scale plans was primarily cadastral, there emerged the concept of the "general" map, one which provided a base on which other information could be plotted for a variety of purposes. The compilation of these maps, and their smaller-scale derivatives, impinged on so wide a range of interests that such issues as the "battle of the scales" and the chronic problem of keeping the maps up-to-date provide valuable insights into the social and economic preoccupations of the time. For some observers, the map-making activities of the Survey were an essential and logical prerequisite for tackling the many challenges thrown up by changes in land use, particularly in the new industrial towns, residential suburbs, and conurbations. For others, the detailed and graphic inventory-making, executed by surveyors who had a right to enter, record and publish whatever they saw happening on private property, represented a further instance of state intrusion.

John Sheail

John Sheail is a principal scientific officer at the Monks Wood Experimental Station of the Institute of Terrestrial Ecology.

BOOKS

Spatial views of development

The Development Process: a spatial perspective
by Akin L. Mabogunje
Hutchinson, £12.00 and £5.50
ISBN 0 09 141 340 0 and 341 9

The Development Gap: a spatial analysis of world poverty and inequality
by J. P. Cole
Wiley, £16.90
ISBN 0 471 27796 7

The notion that economic development occurs either in a vacuum or at a point still pervades many attempts to analyse the socio-economic problems of the Third World, more especially those with a macro-economic approach. The geographical elements have been regarded either as incapable of generalization or of so little significance as to have any major effect on the socio-economic forces involved. Yet even as early as 1826 a German economist, Von Thünen, had demonstrated theoretically the existence of a variety of locational responses to the operation of a single economic factor from a given centre. He also showed that not every location was suitable for the latest innovation, that technologies at different levels of efficiency could each find a place to exist.

These two studies are both by geographers and are both concerned with the relationship of space to development. However, instead of taking the view that space operates to create and even preserve archaic technologies or inequalities, they seem concerned rather with reducing inequality through improving our understanding of the structure of economic development and of the role of space in that structure.

Professor Mabogunje describes his book as examining in particular "how to use spatial forms, structures and organisations to concentrate the energies of the people in underdeveloped countries to engage in their own development". His spatial view, despite an examination of many international aspects, is set essentially in the context of national development problems and focuses, for example, on the need for greater self-reliance or, in external relations, for improved links with other Third World countries.

Professor Cole's spatial view takes the form of a technique of regional analysis which transcends national boundaries and which in examining the "ingredients of development" focuses in particular on the accessibility of natural resources and the efficiency of means of production in determining productivity and therefore the level of consumption of goods and services. He is concerned with the uneven distribution of these "ingredients", and tries to demonstrate the need for substantial transfers of wealth or people while admitting the virtual impossibility of so doing. Yet he argues it is better to do something than nothing and concludes that it is important to increase the transfer of aid and to improve the terms of trade in favour of the exporters of primary products. His argument aims at reducing self-reliance and improving North-South contacts.

The two books, though apparently dealing with the same topic, are very different in their character and objectives. Mabogunje's book is in effect a synthesis of a wide range of publications, although surprisingly he omits reference to such works as Brookfields *Interdependent Development*, Hirschman's *Strategy of Economic Development* or Lipton's *Why Poor People Stay Poor*. He deals with those aspects of development in which space plays a major role such as geographical space, the "collapse" of traditional rural structures, urbanization, the urban hierarchy and the "urban crisis", social organization and population growth, information flow, movement of goods and services, and external relations.

Moreover, this particular conclusion is not well supported by the text, which is mainly concerned with a general and wide-ranging critique of various aspects of development in which the emphasis is on the inadequacy of the spatial structures of most Third World countries, the failure of the economic models so far tried, the limited relevance of the

knowledge of means of production in determining productivity and therefore the level of consumption of goods and services. He is concerned with the uneven distribution of these "ingredients", and tries to demonstrate the need for substantial transfers of wealth or people while admitting the virtual impossibility of so doing. Yet he argues it is better to do something than nothing and concludes that it is important to increase the transfer of aid and to improve the terms of trade in favour of the exporters of primary products. His argument aims at reducing self-reliance and improving North-South contacts.

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The cover description claims a distinctive interpretation for familiar themes. This claim seems rather strong, but certainly the conclusion that external relations "have to be re-examined and re-defined within the framework of a commitment to self-centred and self-reliant development" is somewhat unusual and is linked to support for Third World international economic collectives, regional free trade areas or custom unions, offering flexibility and opportunities "critical for the arduous task of self-reliant development". Although I sympathize strongly with the idea of greater self-reliance, the history of Third World free trade areas or similar international economic organizations does not offer much evidence of success in promoting either development or self-reliance.

Moreover, this particular conclusion is not well supported by the text, which is mainly concerned with a general and wide-ranging critique of various aspects of development in which the emphasis is on the inadequacy of the spatial structures of most Third World countries, the failure of the economic models so far tried, the limited relevance of the

science and technology of the developed countries and inadequate integration of national economies. Mabogunje rightly expresses much greater concern with the evolution of bureaucracy and what he calls the "strategic elite" in developing countries, than with the existence of a class elite and the need for a class struggle.

Cole's emphasis on natural resources in the study of development problems derives from an older geographical tradition and his book puts much greater emphasis on space and environment, while using a variety of quantitative techniques developed for modern geographical analysis. Cole's view is in a sense much more one-sided, much more concerned with the particular aspects of development to which he can contribute. He has a major interest in conservation problems, in the continued availability of resources, population increase and limits to growth. He is less interested in the social and political aspects, which are important to Mabogunje, and more interested in development scenarios and problems of ecology and technology. He makes no synthesis of a wide range of development literature, but tries to use the original data for his particular form of analysis.

The result is an original treatment which can be criticised in places for over-simplification of the issues involved or even for uncritical use of a selected and limited range of criteria or of doubtful data. For example, the world food trade analysis is treated in dollars and no distinction is made between the different kinds of food involved and their dollar values, nor is there a separate analysis of the trade in staple foods. So limited an analysis hardly lends itself to the conclusion that Asia and Africa are "broadly self-sufficient" in food even if the amount available is inadequate.

There are problems too in the use of terms like "efficiency" as in "productive efficiency" with reference to crop yields, for if natural resources are so important and threatened with depletion it is arguable whether high crop yields are so efficient when paid for by cheap mineral fertilisers and oil. However, the book does provide a remarkably comprehensive, easy-to-read survey of resources, population and growth criteria.

W. B. Morgan

W. B. Morgan is professor of geography at King's College London.

Results of imaging sensors

Remote Sensing in Geology
by Barry S. Siegal and Alan R. Gillespie
Wiley, £24.15
ISBN 0 471 79052 4

"Remote sensing is the science of gathering information describing distant objects or scenes—targets that could not be studied without instruments"—thus begins the text of chapter one. The last part of the statement is hardly justified in view of the fact that remote sensing is used extensively as a rapid means of extrapolating information derived from field studies on the ground. Although the definition provided could range from the activities of a radio-astronomer to a geophysicist using a magnetometer 3 kilometres deep in a South African gold mine, the first chapter deals with air photography and is likely to leave the student a little frustrated in the absence of much subject matter in the book almost entirely to the working and interpretation of the results of imaging sensors in this section deal with imaging radar, thermal infra-red scanning, and microwave radiometry.

Section four is entitled "Application of remote sensing techniques to geological problems". The first five chapters could well have been included in the previous section, and are on vegetation in geology, lithologic mapping, structural geology, geomorphology and glacial geology. The rest of the section could be mainly classified as "applied geology", with chapters on mineral exploration, water resources,

knowledge of the physical phenomena of the imaged material helps significantly in interpretations.

The second section deals with image processing and enhancement and this will prove a surprise to the many geologists who are used to accepting standard photograph-type products from the sources concerned. In most cases the acceptance of the single wavelength image of the large regions of the Earth covered by the satellite images usually means that a vast amount of data recorded by the sensor, which can be interpreted in terms of geological information, never reaches the geologist concerned.

Section three deals with interpretative techniques in about 100 pages. The first chapter deals with air photography and is likely to leave the student a little frustrated in the absence of much subject matter in the book almost entirely to the working and interpretation of the results of imaging sensors in this section deal with imaging radar, thermal infra-red scanning, and microwave radiometry.

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environmental geoscience and extra-terrestrial geology, surprising omissions in the sequence being petroleum geology and engineering geology, although the latter tends to dominate the chapter on air photography.

The book is well produced with excellent colour illustrations, although in my copy the half-tone black and white illustrations tend to be very poor in comparison. Inevitably, in a text written by different specialist authors, the various aspects of the subject are not dealt with evenly. However, all geologists dealing with large areas would do well to read the book to find out what is potentially available from very high vantage points, and the extensive coverage would appear to make it more suitable for postgraduate work. The book should also be of interest to physicists, programmers, and others who are involved in the hardware and software of remote sensing for geological purposes. The use of experts who are not all teachers may, however, have led to the impression that the completely uninformed beginner would do well to start with a publication on simple, practical photo-interpretation.

J. W. Norman

J. W. Norman is an independent consultant in remote sensing and until recently was on the staff of Imperial College, London.

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BOOKS

Surge of malaria across Europe



Ague and Fever, by Thomas Rowlandson, from the book reviewed here.

The Rise and Fall of Malaria in Europe: a historical-epidemiological study
by L. J. Bruce-Chwatt and J. de Zulueta
Oxford University Press, £12.00
ISBN 0 19 858168 8

Most people think of malaria as a tropical disease, and broadly speaking, they are right. In that warm conditions favour both the mosquito vectors and the parasite. Much of Europe is just within the climatic range of the disease, but there are various other factors which determine whether it will thrive or not. Thus, there must be breeding places suitable for anopheline species prone to feed readily on man and there must be adequate concentrations of people to maintain this strictly human disease.

This book tells of a great wave of severe malaria, which surged slowly over Europe, lapping at far north as Finland and Scotland. For centuries, it caused great suffering until its recession during the past hundred years. Both the extension and the retreat seem to have been due largely to human activities, although the authors have had to rely extensively on inference for the first phase.

The effects of the last Ice Age ended about 8,000 BC and low temperatures would not have subsequently excluded malaria; but the sparse nomadic populations and extensive foraging would have hindered it. With the development of agriculture in southern Europe about 7,000 BC, there would have been possible larger aggregations of people, deforestation, erosion and siltation, causing coastal marshes. Some of the more effective malaria vectors would have spread from North Africa round the receptive marshy coastal areas.

When the historical record is consulted, there is evidence of gradually increasing severity of malaria. Hippocrates (460-357 BC) mentions what seems to be benign tertian malaria; and the Roman Celsus (first century AD) describes both tertian and quartan

forms and also distinguishes the malignant tertian. The parasite responsible for the latter does not readily infect European anophelines and there must have been a long selective process until a transmissible strain emerged. Malaria then seems to have increased in extent and its serious effects at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire have for some years raised the question of cause and effect. Were the enervating epidemics a factor in the overthrow of classical civilization, or did the destruction of drainage systems by the barbarians encourage the disease? (Similar problems have been posed for other vanished civilizations, for example, in Sri Lanka).

Having sketched the early career of European malaria, the authors take individual countries in succeeding chapters to describe subsequent events. In all cases there is a blank gap for the Dark Ages; and even in post-Renaissance times it is difficult to identify malaria with certainty, since other diseases (for example, relapsing fever) cause intermittent fevers. Clues must be sought in location, such as association with swamps, or season, late summer for all types with a peak in spring of delayed infections of benign tertian malaria.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the regression of the tide of malaria had begun, largely initiated by agricultural improvements which happened to decrease transmission. Marshes were drained and, in coastal districts, sea walls eliminated the brackish water which favoured breeding of several dangerous vectors. Numbers of cattle and other livestock increased, thus diverting the mosquitoes from man to feed on the beasts. At the same time, housing improved and the mosquitoes preferred to hibernate in the cobweb-infested dark barns. Finally, quinine was beginning to be used more freely.

The discovery of the therapeutic powers of this 'Peruvian bark' dates from the late seventeenth century, though for a long time its powers were suspect, until proper doses of unadulterated material were available. This was the first positive medical measure against malaria. However, more could not be done in ignorance of the nature of the disease, which was generally ascribed to emanations from marshes. The incrimination of *Plasmodium* parasites by Laveran in 1880 was a great step forward. By 1898, Ross had elucidated the involvement of the anopheline mosquitoes, which was brilliantly confirmed by the Italian

Grassi and his co-workers. Next, it was important to identify the actual species responsible, which in Europe was complicated by the fact that several dangerous and relatively harmless species are identical in appearance.

In the early twentieth century, conscious efforts were made to control vector breeding places; and from the 1920s, new drugs were sought to control the parasite, one of the earliest effective ones being atabrin, developed in Germany in 1932. The final step was the discovery of the powerful, safe insecticide DDT, which sealed the fate of indigenous malaria in Europe. Thus, many of the measures to curb the danger of malaria came from European doctors and scientists (not forgetting the contributions of American like Paul Russell and the Rockefeller Foundation). Many of these measures have benefited tropical countries, although the noble and beneficial WHO-sponsored eradication scheme has not proved successful as yet. Even in Europe, there must still be vigilance, since the influx of tropical immigrants, and increased travelling facilities have resulted in a serious increase in imported malaria.

The authors of this book are both malariaologists of international reputation. Bruce-Chwatt came from Poland to join the Free Polish Army as a medical officer, later served as malariaologist in Nigeria and with the WHO and finally became Professor of Tropical Medicine in the University of London. De Zulueta, a Spaniard, served with distinction with WHO, becoming regional malaria officer for Europe. Since English is the mother tongue of neither, they are to be congratulated on their excellent, readable prose. The book follows the usual good standards of the publishers and contains over 80 excellent illustrations of malaria and malariaologists.

James R. Busvine

James R. Busvine is emeritus professor of entomology as applied to hygiene at the University of London.

A most ambitious housing programme

Homes Fit for Heroes: the politics and architecture of early state housing in Britain
by Mark Swenarton
Heinemann, £14.50
ISBN 0 435 32994 4

At the conclusion of the First World War, Lloyd George pledged his administration to the most ambitious housing programme ever contemplated by a British government. Under the slogan of 'homes fit for heroes', the state aimed to provide within three years half a million houses of a far higher quality than had hitherto been available to working-class tenants.

The new policy of state-aided housing was initiated by two acts passed in 1919 under the supervision of Dr. Christopher Addison. A Housing and Town Planning Act required local authorities to survey the housing needs of their area within three months of the Act, and then to carry out the plans. All losses incurred in the construction of the houses in excess of a penny rate levied by the local authority were to be borne by the Treasury. Rents were to be fixed independently of costs and were to be on a par with existing working-class houses. A further Housing Act offered a subsidy to any builder who constructed houses for sale or rent.

This ambitious and generous scheme of state-subsidized housing marked a clear shift from the purely permissive housing acts of the pre-war years and an unmistakable acceptance by the state of its responsibility to provide working-class housing. Moreover, in terms of quality the houses built under the Addison Acts represented a considerable advance. Drawing upon the ideas of the 'Garden City' movement pioneered in pre-war estates at Letchworth and Hampstead, Garden Suburb, considerable attention was devoted to the overall layout of estates and the design of house

interiors. Although the final results and levels of amenity varied between individual authorities, most housing experts believed them to be the best designed and most attractive 'council houses' built between the wars. In terms of numbers, however, the scheme soon fell short of the original plans. Shortages of materials meant that by the time the scheme was ended, only 214,000 houses had been sanctioned, less than half the total planned. More seriously, building costs proved far higher than anticipated, on average more than four times the pre-war level, in spite of only a two-fold increase in general price levels. With the onset of the depression in the winter of 1920-21 and increasing calls for government economy, the housing programme fell victim of the Geddes 'axe'. Approvals for fresh projects were first limited, then terminated altogether in 1922.

Dr Swenarton's book is the first complete study of this crucial phase in the provision and design of state housing. A lecturer in the history of architecture and planning at University College London, the author deals with both the political and architectural significance of the Addison scheme. He traces the models for the programme in the garden city movement and the writings and designs of leading innovators such as Raymond Unwin and Richard Reiss. Even during the war years, some of the features of the new style in residential housing were incorporated into estates built for munitions workers as places such as Gretna in Dumfries and the Well Hall estate at Eltham, built by the Office of Works for Woolwich Arsenal workers.

It was in the larger political context of the war, however, that the Addison Acts have to be considered. Housing policy provided a pivot in the government's plans for the reconstruction of British society, part of what John Burnet has described as 'an unwritten social

contract' which held out the prospect of a better world to those who had fought in the Great War. Indeed, by 1917, the Second Reconstruction Committee had accepted that the state would have to play a major part in assisting local authorities to meet the anticipated housing shortage caused by the low level of house-building in the years immediately before the war and the almost complete standstill during it.

No less clear was the strong desire to procure a significant improvement in the quality of working-class housing. The Tudor Walters Report, published in 1918, recommended 'as essential' that each house should contain a minimum of three rooms on the ground floor, three bedrooms, a larder, and a bathroom. 'Cottage'-style houses were envisaged, at least for England and Wales, with adequate ventilation, light and garden space, and sited in attractive and varied layouts. Its recommendations provided the basis for the Housing Manual issued by the Local Government Board to advise local authorities as to the terms under which the government grants would be available.

In addition to his detailed discussion of these broadly familiar themes, Swenarton gives particular emphasis to the place of housing policy as part of the counter-revolutionary strategy by which the government dealt with the turbulent aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the strikes and unrest of the immediate postwar years. On March 3rd, 1919, during consideration of the Housing Bill, Lloyd George warned the Cabinet: 'Even if it costs a hundred million pounds, what was that compared to the stability of the State?'

During the parliamentary debates on the bill it was apparent that many MPs viewed the issue in similar terms, the member for Hertford, N. P. Billing, arguing that 'present housing conditions are the real, and in fact the only, reasons for social

unrest'. Undoubtedly, such considerations played a part in producing action on the provision of working-class housing, not least because they appealed to the Conservative members who made up the majority of the Lloyd George coalition government. How seriously, however, did Lloyd George take his own propaganda? Even before the war he had been preparing a housing programme as the next major phase in social reform, although its details remained to be worked out. Addison, too, remains a somewhat shadowy figure in this account.

Swenarton's view of housing policy as an 'insurance against revolution' which rather distorts the complexity of decision-making in this area. For example, the emphasis upon the weakening of trade union militancy in the winter of 1920-21 and the calling-off of the threatened General Strike on April 15th, 1921, 'Black Friday', in the cessation of the Addison scheme, tends to underplay the economic constraints which led to the deflationary Geddes 'axe'. Significantly, too, the weakened bargaining power of the trade unions in the 1920s did not prevent fresh housing initiatives by both the Conservative and Labour Governments of 1923 and 1924. Although the levels of subsidy were less generous than under the Addison Acts, they retained the commitment to a general improvement in working-class housing.

Less persuasive perhaps as a political historian than as a chronicler of changes in housing design, the author's most valuable contribution lies in his evaluation of the development and promotion of improved standards in the design of housing for the masses during this crucial period.

John Stevenson

John Stevenson is senior lecturer in history at the University of Sheffield.

BOOKS

Housing provision

Urbanization, Housing and the Development Process
by David Drakakis-Smith
Croom Helm, £15.95
ISBN 0 7099 0464 9

Latin American Urbanization
by Douglas Butterworth and John K. Chance
Cambridge University Press, £15.00
and £5.50pb
ISBN 0 521 23713 0 and 28175 X

In the past three decades the population of developing societies has become increasingly urban so that in some areas, such as Latin America, over half the population is classed as urban. This change has been based primarily on increasing integration into a world capitalist economy accompanied by growth in population, the commercialization of agriculture and more recently, industrialization. Not only is the growth of cities occurring rapidly, with existing urban infrastructure inadequate to meet the demands placed upon it, but governments do not invest in urban development, choosing other priorities for their capital resources.

Drakakis-Smith surveys the human consequences of this situation in a textbook on urban housing in developing countries, covering what he terms conventional, hybrid and non-conventional types such as squatter settlements and slums. Non-conventional housing is the dominant form of housing provision, with squatters constituting a majority of the population in many cities of the developing world. Conventional housing, whether provided by the state or by private initiative, caters almost exclusively for the middle and upper income groups of society. Although the case-studies he presents are highly descriptive and lack analysis, he shows that even concerted government attempts in cities, such as Hong Kong, to provide housing for low-income populations will almost inevitably fail. Instead, such housing projects become orientated to middle-income groups.

The prevalent patterns of economic

growth concentrate income so that the majority of the urban population is unable to pay for even the modest amenities provided by government housing schemes. Although Drakakis-Smith outlines some possibilities of providing better housing for the urban poor through the cooperation of governments and the small-scale private sector, his account suggests that without dramatic changes in economic policy at national and international levels, slums and squatter settlements will continue to provide the bulk of urban housing in developing countries.

These housing types, as he shows, should not be stereotyped as homogeneous areas of degradation. Their populations are often socially and economically heterogeneous and, as communities, they are frequently viable and lively places. Government-sponsored self-help housing schemes are often, he argues, basically palliative, masking the low priority given to social development as against economic growth. For governments and the powerful national and international groups that maintain them in power, cities are convenient places to locate their growing populations since their labour can be used cheaply and productively, while the costs of subsistence are kept at a minimum by the unconventional means by which these populations survive and shelter themselves.

Drakakis-Smith's analysis would have been stronger and more useful to students had he taken more systematic account of divergences in the patterns of urban development and housing provision. The type of national and urban economy, the history of insertion into the world market and the pattern of urbanization lead to significant differences in housing provision. In contrast to the volume on Latin American urbanization, errors in the opposite direction, providing a complex account of migration and patterns of adaptation from which generalization is all but excluded. In interesting and well written surveys of the litera-

ture, different types of people are shown to leave the countryside for a variety of reasons and to arrive, often temporarily, in the cities by a variety of routes. In the cities, the poor use kinship, ethnicity and informal social networks to survive, but are also skilled in making use of government agencies and voluntary associations. Although the poor participate little in formal political organization, they are active in making political demands through such channels as neighbourhood associations. International migration, particularly of Mexicans to the United States, is well analysed, documenting the political and economic expediency that has dominated United States immigration policy.

The consistent theme of the Butterworth and Chance book is the high degree of vitality and initiative that the poor and relatively ill-educated show in coping with the difficulties of stagnating rural economies and the shortage of income opportunities in the cities. In contrast with the upper and middle classes, it is the poor that emerge from these pages as the entrepreneurial class. The upper classes, confident in their command of resources, and the middle classes, largely dependent on state employment, show few progressive traits, tending to deprecate manual work and to be preoccupied with status.

Absent from this account of class, however, is any attempt to examine working-class formation in the context of the slow expansion of jobs in manufacturing industry and the rapid growth of self-employment in the cities. Absent also from their account is an adequate analysis of the urban economies of the region. The emphasis on social relationships and on the significance of spatial mobility are the strengths of the volume, showing how the rationalities of ordinary people shape the development process despite the constraints imposed by the economic and political dependency of their societies.

Bryan R. Roberts

Bryan R. Roberts is professor of sociology at the University of Manchester.

Symbiosis of population and agriculture

Population Growth and Agrarian Change: a historical perspective
by D. B. Grigg
Cambridge University Press, £20.00
and £7.95pb
ISBN 0 521 22760 7 and 29635 8

Given the preoccupation with the problems of rapid population growth in the largely agrarian countries of the Third World, it is easy to forget that the economy of Europe was also once based primarily on agriculture, when rural poverty and periodic population crises were similarly endemic to the region. However, Europe has long since managed to break out of this population-subistence trap and it is David Grigg's contention that the study of her population and agrarian history not only aids our understanding of the past but also holds important lessons for the underdeveloped world today. His book thereby acquires the valuable reassurance of contemporary relevance. At the same time it is a book of clear academic merit and treats a difficult topic with verve and ingenuity. Moreover, it admirably serves to clarify the complex symbiotic relationship between population and agriculture.

It had been customary to assume a slow, relatively steady increase in the population of Western Europe before the middle of the eighteenth century, but the evidence now suggests a less uniform path of evolution with population staging two complete cycles of logistic growth between 1000 and 1750. In addition the rural population had completed a third cycle by 1850. Although there is a strong presumption that each cycle was brought to an end by agrarian overpopulation, David Grigg demonstrates that the case is far from proven. There is the obvious difficulty of defining overpopulation, which can be variously derived from Malthusian principles, optimum theory and the measurement of the marginal productivity of labour; but as is demonstrated in an

able exposition of a complicated issue, none of the three casts much light on the real problems of agrarian communities.

Yet whatever the technical nuances, it can be assumed that any agrarian society, which shows signs of outrunning subsistence, will adopt various strategies to avert the potential catastrophe, with the aim of either increasing output, for instance, by cultivating more land, and/or reducing the rate of population growth through family limitation or migration. Should these prove to be ineffective, then the ultimate Malthusian check of rising mortality may be expected to restore the balance.

It is within this framework that the cases of England and France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of Ireland during the nineteenth century are examined as possible instances of overpopulation. Although the treatment of all three is broadly similar, it is in the discussion of Ireland that David Grigg is at his most convincing. The critical difference lies in the existence of firm census data for Ireland, through which worked over by demographers and economic historians alike, for this allows him to identify with confidence the demographic response to the events of the years straddling the potato famine.

By contrast, the evidence of the response to possible overpopulation in England and France, two centuries earlier, is extremely fragmentary, and the author can do no more than offer the reader a range of intriguing possibilities. Ireland is judged to have been the clearest case of overpopulation if for no other reason than the catastrophic level of mortality between 1845 and 1851, but it has to be said that the evidence for this could have been more clearly presented. The estimate given of 800,000 to 1,000,000 deaths over this seven-year period, far from being evidence of catastrophic mortality, is perfectly

consistent with a crude death rate of 22 per 1000 quoted as normal for Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century.

By 1750, Western Europe, with the notable exception of Ireland, had largely escaped from the Malthusian dilemma and thereafter embarked upon a phase of largely uninterrupted population growth to the present. David Grigg, however, challenges the conventional interpretation of this fundamental change. He rightly points out that most of Western Europe remained overwhelmingly rural until the second half of the nineteenth century, and industrialization cannot therefore be postulated as a cause of general population growth before 1850. Moreover, the changes taking place in agriculture at that time were less dramatic than is sometimes thought and indeed the century 1750 to 1850 witnessed the characteristic features of widespread rural population pressure. But the essential difference from earlier periods was that relief came from sources outside agriculture in the form of massive migration to the towns as well as overseas.

Although many parallels are shown to exist between the historical experience of Europe and the developing world today, neither rural to urban migration nor emigration overseas, both of which were so important in the case of Europe, can be expected to play a significant role in relieving population pressure in developing countries. As it is also improbable that any substantial improvement can be achieved through agricultural advance, David Grigg can only see a solution coming through the break-up of the 'medieval' fertility patterns that these countries exhibit.

Paul Compton

Paul Compton is senior lecturer in geography at the Queen's University of Belfast.

Ernst Mayr and William B. Provine, editors The Evolutionary Synthesis

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WEST GLAMORGAN County Council

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Head of Mathematics and Computing/Director of Computer Services Unit (Principal Lecturer Grade). Applicants should have relevant commercial/industrial and academic experience, including TEC/BEC and university/ONAA validation procedures, suitable qualifications in Computing and/or Management Studies and the ability to lead an academic team to degree and BSC Part II levels. A postgraduate degree would be an advantage. (Salary: £11,288-£14,328 (Bar at £12,591)). (Post ref. HE5/1/7/81/4).

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Senior Lecturer/Lecturer II in Primary Education. Teaching duties will include initial and in-service B.Ed. and high level courses and the training of serving teachers from overseas. Applicants should be graduates, preferably with postgraduate qualifications and research interests and with a wide experience of primary education, including posts of major responsibility. (Salary: £13,624-£12,141 (Bar at £11,328)). (Post ref. HE5/4/2/81/1).

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Lecturer I in Business Studies, mainly to be involved with information systems and business communication. Applicants should be honours graduates with professional qualifications and a facility in a major European language, shorthand and typing. Appropriate experience in commerce is necessary. (Salary: £6,034-£8,658). (Post ref. HE2/2/4/81).

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JOHN BEALE
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Principal P.D. Ball MA

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WOLVERHAMPTON POLYTE

Don's diary

Monday

I shudder at the thought of the 16-hour train journey before me as I clamber on to the London train at 3.50 am bound for Nantes. I suddenly realize that introducing more courses into universities requires more than an adjustment of one's academic sights. The prospect of a new degree in European Community Studies with job placements for students in France seemed eminently reasonable four years ago when it was being planned but now, as I clutch my briefcase full of introductory letters to French businessmen, my specific task of finding placements takes on a slightly different emphasis.

It's now 7 pm and I have just scrambled aboard the Paris-Nantes TEE. It is full of businessmen and will at least give me a chance of examining my prey at close quarters. The only contact I seem able to make on the train is with an elegant gentleman in a three-piece suit, but he turns out to be a detective in the drugs squad.

Tuesday

By mid-morning I am beginning to realize that French business appointments can be very much hit or miss affairs. I check to reassure myself that I have adjusted my watch to French time. The morning, in spite of these frustrations, culminates successfully with a splendid lunch at Nantes University and we further console ourselves with useful discussion about arrangements for courses and job experience for our respective students.

After lunch now and I am peacefully sipping a fruit juice in the bar of the best hotel in Nantes where I am expecting another businessman to appear. Slightly less peaceful after paying £2.50 for my fruit juice but relieved that my contact is on time.

A complete change this evening. I have been invited by some French colleagues to help prepare a fair-copy of a French-English translation. Am very excited to learn that a chink of light can only be vertical and not horizontal and leave, reassured that when all is said and done, the French university system will at least have played its part in preserving the purity of the English language.

Wednesday

More contacts today and welcomed everywhere as living proof that Britain is not planning to pull out of the market. A thought that the French, for all their public statements, view with much alarm. Taking students from Cardiff is perhaps seen as a subtle ploy to instil in us a proper feeling for Europe. As I look around Nantes, I wonder whether this would not be a good thing. Nantes is buoyant and self-assured, while back in Cardiff I can imagine the windswept litter occasionally settling into the doorway of some boarded-up shop. I suppose some would argue that this is the result of our membership of the Community. And yet haven't we always had a European vocation, privately if not publicly? As I sit listening to the Mancunian tones of the British consul, Mr Max Chavallier, my mind goes back to yesterday and my meeting with Monsieur Williamson, a leading Nantes businessman. The patronymic confusion is completed as I recall the Parisian elegance of the French consul in Cardiff, Monsieur Sidney Watkins.

Thursday

Up at 4.30 am for a tortuous train journey to Limoges. Meetings with the university there and the Chamber of Commerce. Am advised to concentrate on Cognac producers. And why not? Railway stations seem to be playing an important part in this trip and there is none finer than "Les Bénédictins" at Limoges. It sits like some French Taj Mahal in a slightly elevated position above the town and must have been conceived as a monument to the efficiency of the French railway system. At all events its mag-

nificence is such that one leaves with no clear impression of Limoges itself, which seems to serve no other function than to provide a setting for "Les Bénédictins". I notch another job on my belt and it is a weary 19th Century French Literature specialist who allows the Bordeaux-Paris express to whisk him towards the more varied delights of the capital.

Friday

A phone call from a colleague on a similar mission to Strasbourg to compare notes. The "Racing Club de Strasbourg" is prepared to find a job for a student who can help transmit "l'héritage rugbyistique" to potential Alsation rugby-players. Thank God for Cardiff Arms Park! I make my way to the Paris Airport Authority's headquarters for another meeting. I appreciate the fact that the French, unlike the British, positively warm to contacts with intellectuals. Half the interview taken up with discussion on the finer points of French symbolist literature and the other half with arranging for a student to work as a steward at Charles-de-Gaulle Airport.

I start the afternoon with my usual batch of phone-calls and then retrograde by taking refuge in the British Institute which is a marvellous and urbane compromise between the over-protective British academic system and the chaotic world of the French. The latter awaits me as, later that afternoon, I enter the elegant portals of the Law Faculty opposite the Pontbeon for a meeting with the head of the "University Centre for European Community Studies". All in all, a very successful day.

Saturday

Another train! I am sitting on the upper deck of a bright yellow futuristic double-decker commuter train half way to Cergy-Pontoise. Cergy is one of the most spectacular new town developments in France just 30 minutes from Paris and its trading-estates and high-rise buildings stretch away into the distance and appear to swallow up the French countryside.

Further regression in the afternoon as I return to Paris and decide to look in at the "Bibliothèque Nationale". A sign of the times, it now costs £6 to renew a reader's ticket in the early evening walking around Paris I am amused to observe the battle of election posters. It seems that each candidate had a team of bill-stickers on hand to add some ironic comment to the opponent's poster. I particularly liked "Marchais des dupes" and the simple "Adieu" posted across the elegant features of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Sitting in a café I finish reading a fascinating historical reconstruction of the Giscard family since 1870, called "La Saga des Giscard" which is proving popular reading among University teachers in France.

Sunday

A French friend has just accompanied me to the "Odeon du Nord". He is worried because he has just been made "Chevalier de l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques" (a French academic honour) and is convinced that this is an attempt to sabotage his recently created "Association des Musiciens et Musiciens des Enseignements culturels de Paris". The French have ways of dealing with academic troublemakers.

Sunday evening and as the train pulls into Cardiff Central Station I reflect that I have done my bit for Europe. The preparation, the numerous letters sent out all over France have at least guaranteed some interesting courses and relevant job experience for our community students. A quick glance at a newspaper article about the university crisis in Britain makes me hope that having found jobs for our students in France I have at least ensured that I have something to come home to.

David Bryant

The author is a lecturer in French at University College, Cardiff.

I have a research project I am thinking of putting up to the Social Science Research Council: a systematic study of political jokes.

The idea came to me one lunchtime when, on being introduced to a visiting Sudanese politician, I innocently asked him about the current political scene in the Sudan, he responded by telling me a rather lengthy joke about President Numeiry. What was striking was not that the joke was particularly funny (it was not), but that I had heard almost exactly the same joke some years before in Prague told about President Novotny.

What could explain that? Is there perhaps a deep structure of humour, universal and innate in the human psyche, capable of generating jokes of a similar form in different conditions? Or is the explanation rather sociological, with analogous conditions generating parallel reactions? Or should one look to cultural diffusionism: perhaps some sharp-eyed Sudanese businessman or diplomat carried the word from Prague to Khartoum?

Once begun, these lines of speculation multiply. Are there different types of jokes, and if so how should they be classified? A radical friend of mine divides them into the reactionary (which serve to deepen prejudices and social divisions), *status quo* jokes (which leave everything as it is) and radical jokes (which quicken the march of progress). But one could also classify them according to their form, along with structuralist or post-structuralist lines. If it is appropriate to myths, why not to jokes. Indeed, perhaps the joke is a kind of myth?

And are there not really a very few basic jokes, upon which many variations are played? Do they form structured sets and undergo mathematically expressible transformations? And under what conditions do they flourish? Plainly not all societies are equally hospitable to them. I doubt I shall ever encounter a volume about Swiss political humour. Nor do they have the same significance in all cultures. I think it was Mark Twain who said that a German joke is no laughing matter.

Are they always a response to oppression? Though superficially plausible, I doubt this is true. Often they are a form of it, as in stereotyping jokes, such as those about the Irish in England, the Poles in the United States, the Sikhs in India, and women everywhere. And who invents them? I have a favourite image of subversive intellectuals gathering in the smoke-filled cafés of Eastern Europe, emerging in the small hours with the latest crop ready for national distribution. *Someone* must think them up. And how do they circulate? And how are they transformed as they pass from mouth to mouth? To whom do they appeal? Why are they thought to be

Union view

Patches for the seamless robe

Crystal ball gazing on the eve of a year's annual conference is a risky business. In the three days of this bank holiday weekend the delegates meeting at Bournemouth could radically reshape some of NATFHE's cherished policies or, alternatively, engage in that ritual, beloved of trade unions, of reasserting the faith in the face of another year's tribulation. Indeed, the economic and educational climate in which this sixth conference is meeting has never been worse and by Monday we'll know whether or not adversity concentrates the mind or the imagination. Is the bleak summer facing the further and higher education service, a time to take leaps in the dark?

The retiring NATFHE president, Jim Richardson, will have his work cut out steering the NATFHE delegates through 50 motions which they hope to debate by Monday night. Whatever else happens the resolutions made will be shorter this year, due to a new rule which limits motions to one hundred words. The themes of the debate are fairly predictable. There are motions on salaries, the protection of the further and higher education service from cuts, the organization of 16-19 education, college government and equal rights. In all these areas there is the prospect of contention and if, by

David Bryant

The author is a lecturer in French at University College, Cardiff.

Und now ve haf ze jokes, ja?



Stephen Lukes

such a threat?

My research team will need to have a great deal of experience in interpreting and identifying jokes, for they are not all what they seem. They must be able to tell a Jewish joke from an anti-Semitic joke about Jews, and a native anti-Soviet joke from a KGB joke - and both from a joke devised for Westerners purporting to be indigenous.

There has been very little serious work on jokes. Classics in the field are of some help, but not much - Freud, Bergson and a few others. Among moderns, there is a ponderous work on Jewish humour by Alicia Landmann and a useful recent little volume by Egon Larsen called *Wit as a Weapon*, and of course the excellent writings of George Mikes. But the basic assumption of most writing on this subject has been that humour is too important a matter to leave to the humourist. In any case, there is a vast work of data-gathering to be done, on an international basis. Actually my research plans are more ambitious than I have yet revealed. I envisage an International Institute, based perhaps in Geneva (as suitably neutral and uninvolved) which would have corresponding members from all over the world. Conditions of membership would be the regular provision of a certain number of jokes per month (say 12). The jokes would be catalogued, classified and put on to a central computer, and analysed on a continuing basis. The Institute would publish a monthly bulletin and an annual report, and

eventually a series of specialised monographs (such as "Island Humour: a Comparative Study of the Hebrides and the Philippines").

The upshot of all this research would go far beyond the jokes themselves, offering a way into the analysis of social and political relationships through sharp shafts of light offering sudden but revealing illumination.

As is well known, the Nazi period offers a rich store of such revelatory jokes. The shortest I know concerns two Jews who meet in Vienna in 1938. "When you think about it," says one, "you must admit we are living history." "Personally," says the other, "I wouldn't mind trying geography." There is the classic joke (told by Larsen) of the prisoner offered release by an SS officer if he can say which of the officer's eyes is the glass one. "The right one," he says. "How did you know?" asks the officer. "Because it is the only one which shows the trace of human feeling." And there is the story about the Jew who fled Hitler's Germany and becomes an immigrant in the US but keeps a picture of Hitler on his wall. A friend, in amazement, asks him why. "To avoid," he replies, "nostalgia."

Jokes from the USSR and Eastern Europe are very varied, some of the former being old-Russian as much as anti-Soviet; among the latter, I think that the Czechs tell the subtlest and blackest and the Poles (hitherto) the bitterest. The questions and answers Radio Erevan are the classic genre. My own favourites are Q: "What is Socialism?" A: "Socialism is the dialectical synthesis of all the preceding stages of the world - historical development from pre-history it takes the method from antiquity, slavery, from feudalism serfdom, from capitalism exploitation and from socialism the name." And Q: "Is it possible to build socialism in one country?" A: "Yes, but it is advisable to be in another country at the time."

I also like a very telling story about a meeting between Khrushchev and Chou En Lai. "The basic difference," says Khrushchev, "between the USSR and China is that I, a peasant, have risen to be leader of our system, but you are member of the mandarin class."

"True," says Chou, "and the basic similarity is that each of us has betrayed his class."

But perhaps, on second thoughts, the SSRC and the parliamentary committee which periodically vets its funding decisions will not look on my project with favour. Perhaps they will even think it frivolous, and treat it as no more worthy than the study of kinship in a Polish fishing village which was so roundly criticized last time round. I can't see the chairman of the SSRC defending my project any more staunchly than he did then. As for my Institute, I suppose I'd better forget it.

Keith Scribbles

The author is assistant secretary (salaries) of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Modern language teaching

Sir, - It is a pity that Professor Thody and his colleagues (*THES* May 1) regard their language classes as a "chore". There are, however, various ways of dealing with chores: some people automate them (the language lab?), some leave them to the au pair (the foreign language assistant!), and others stand at the sink resignedly doing them in the same way, year in year out. Alternatively, of course, one can decide that the job ought not to be a chore at all, and equipping oneself with proper materials (the "Larousse Gastronomique"), turn it into an art. ... which is where Professor Hawkins comes in!

Professor Thody declares himself in general sympathy with *Modern Languages in the Curriculum*, yet his article denies the very implications of what Eric Hawkins says. Despite the latter's vigorous efforts to convince the reader that language learning involves "wisdom" as well as "skill", Professor Thody nevertheless questions whether advanced language teaching is really an activity for university teachers. There are several reasons for answering emphatically "yes" to his query as to whether the teacher of language in higher education should receive "the same salary as a professor of history". It is not only teachers of language, but most lecturers, who spend a great deal of their time doing at a higher level what school teachers do. Over many of his colleagues the professor of history has the advantage (1) of teaching students who have already studied his subject for many years. This is also true for

French, but it is not usually so for those who teach Swedish or Italian: should they be paid less? The argument is sometimes put that all that is needed is a high degree of proficiency in the foreign language. ("The masters were generally of French nationality and regarded as inferior", Professor Hawkins quotes Westminster School as saying in the Clarendon Commission in 1846!) This is manifestly not so, or else Professor Thody could appoint just any native speaker to teach his students ... with visions of a Franco-British exchange programme for the unemployed solving our French teacher shortage at a stroke! The point is that what characterizes language teaching in higher education, whatever its starting-point, is the approach expected of the student, and the qualifications and research of the teacher. More research and development work into degree-level, and other, language teaching is needed, but will only be done if it is granted equivalent status to the work done in, say, literature or history.

Certainly, it is important to do, why in departments where there is a general lament over the failure of language-teaching, there often seems to be such resistance to change. Why, decades after Ritchie and Moore exclaimed, *judice eux*, over the low standards of those taught by prose and translation, do the latter continue in some places to be the only or major means of teaching and examining the students of French? Despite all this, however, the other main point that needs making about

Professor Thody's article, is that the failure to teach languages in HE is by no means as great as it sounds. Many polytechnic and university departments are investing much time and expertise in producing exciting and challenging language courses, which demand a high degree of both oral and written competence from their finalists, and about which more deserves to be known. Ironically, as in the case of Professor Thody's civil servants, the new approaches and materials are often reserved for the non-specialist, whereas our main need is to raise the level of interest and proficiency of those of our graduates who are most likely to use the language, or perhaps to teach others in their turn.

A number of us believe that if Britain is not to become an increasingly monoglot, inward-looking and non-exporting country, language-teaching in HE should be a high priority. In order to promote research and to act as a forum for ideas, an Association for French Language Studies has recently been set up. It hopes for the support of all those involved in French language teaching and research in HE, in attempting to combat the failures of what Professor Thody speaks of, and to build on the successes of which he does not.

Yours sincerely,

CAROL SANDERS

University of Sussex
(on behalf of the Committee of AFLS - details from the Membership Secretary Dr G. Buscher, University of Hull).

Prospectus formats

Sir, - I am a specialist careers adviser dealing with sixth-formers in six schools in the South West of England, and like many of my colleagues in other parts of the country I groaned inwardly at the idea of a "thick prospectus". (*THES* March 8). Can I make a desperate plea for universities, as well as polytechnics, to follow the kind of lead given by places like Liverpool and Sheffield Universities, in breaking down their prospectus into booklets for individual departments and subjects of study. Such a format is infinitely more useful to careers officers where a prospectus is usually loaned out for periods of up to a week or more, to people who, as a result of advice, have already narrowed their choice to one particular type of course, and who are borrowing the prospectus to read perhaps only two or three pages.

Yours sincerely,

MARCUS OFFER
Specialist Careers Officer
Hereford and Worcester County Council.

Structure of the NUS

Sir, - I read with interest the thoughts of the chairperson of NUS on the alternative national forum proposed by the Federation of Conservative Students. He is probably correct in deriding the proposals for a completely new national body for students, but the continuing discontent within, and without, NUS should give him cause for concern, not about alternatives, but about his own organization. It is often said that NUS is gradually changing, but continuing criticism indicates that movement is still too slow. The students of the United Kingdom need a responsible, effective, efficient and, above all, united national focus. This is not at present achieved with NUS. The current financial stringencies may force many unions to re-examine their commitment to NUS; now is surely the time for a radical restructuring of subscription levels, even if this results in a slimmed-down organization. There may be some loss in provision of services, but the trade-off may be substantial in affiliation and re-affiliation of unions, culminating in unity of the student body. Decentralization of structure to reduce wasteful bureaucracy coupled with a sharper sensitivity to the opinions of those they represent, and realization that students are still seen as, and in many ways are, a privileged sector of the community, may result in a more effective defence of the vital role of higher education.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN G. STURROCK,
Senior President,
Edinburgh University Students' Association.

Future of the university
Sir, - I am sure that the International Council on the Future of the University will be grateful to you for the extensive coverage you have given to its recent conference. Both the council and your paper would have been out of character had we won your unqualified approval. But it is good to know that you agree that universities need an "inner faith" if they are to survive their recurrent crises; even though we might disagree on how the loss of faith has developed, or been engineered, either here or abroad.

May I make two points for the record? Firstly, in your issue of May 1 you report me as having told the ICFU conference "that it would be a mistake to blame the crisis in British universities on conscious government policies." I fear that, taken out of context, this is likely to leave a misleading impression. I quite specifically mentioned two major British government interventions since Robbins viz. the invention of the polytechnics and the

Trade opportunities

Sir, - Keith Hampson's article "A Jamroze for Travelling Superstellers" (*THES* May 1) - refers in its concluding paragraph to a major co-ordinating job to be done and the need for a broker between British goods and services that could be for sale and their overseas markets. Let your readers should think nothing has been done to this end and I should like to refer to the role of the British Council as the official government-funded agency for assembling educational services for sale overseas.

The trade opportunities in educational services presented by the OPEC and newly industrializing countries have formed an Education and Training Export Committee (ETEC) to bring together their representatives with those of DES, ODA, the British Overseas Trade Board and the British Council. It is not an export council, with built-in overheads; it seeks to ensure the rapid exchange of information about opportunities and the identification and resolution of possible problems through lack of public support.

The merger of the IUC with the British Council has led to the creation of a strong Standing Committee for International Co-operation in Higher Education (CICHE). One of its early tasks will be to bring about closer co-operation between the universities and polytechnics of this country and the educational export industry in exploiting opportunities overseas. The huge market identified by Mr Hampson is full of competitors. More could and should be done to match British resources to the possibilities of this market, but it has not been as neglected as Mr Hampson seems to imply.

Yours sincerely,

R. E. CALVERO
Deputy Director-General
The British Council

Both projects have paid for over £5m of British services and other projects in Bangladesh, Greece, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritius, Pakistan, Thailand, and Venezuela have in their time accounted for another £4m worth.

Recognizing the close connexion between "liveware" and equipment, the three main trading associations concerned with educational exports have formed an Education and Training Export Committee (ETEC) to bring together their representatives with those of DES, ODA, the British Overseas Trade Board and the British Council. It is not an export council, with built-in overheads; it seeks to ensure the rapid exchange of information about opportunities and the identification and resolution of possible problems through lack of public support.

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Yours sincerely,

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Deputy Director-General
The British Council

move for differential fees for overseas students. These were both inaugurated by Mr Anthony Crosland. I made it clear that these were conscious government or DES policies that have had a profound and negative impact upon the universities. I also introduced the point that British academics, whatever their "inner faith", had lamentably failed to organize a genuinely representative forum that could act as a non-contemptible bulwark of university freedom. Secondly, in your latest issue, you describe me as one of ICFU's trustees. I would not want ICFU to be exposed to guilt by association. My period as trustee is over and I have been succeeded by Professor David Martin. It is to him that any complaints about ICFU, himself or myself should now be directed.

Yours sincerely,

JULIUS GOULD
381 Derby Road,
Nottingham

Callendar Park and Stirling

Sir, - In an article by Olga Wojtas, reporting reactions to a proposal that the University of Stirling would be willing to assume some of the functions of Callendar Park College of Education if the college is closed (*THES* May 1) it is stated that the "university, working closely with Callendar Park, already runs a BEd degree for intending secondary teachers". It is true that we work closely with Callendar Park; it is not true that the BEd degree is for intending secondary teachers. It is, in fact, for intending primary teachers.

Naturally enough the university wishes to preserve its modest stake in the education of primary teachers and to protect the interests of those of its students who are currently registered for the BEd. It believes, in addition, that there are sound educational reasons why secondary and primary teachers should share some aspects of their training and is reluctant to be frozen out of the primary area. Its experience over ten years of a concurrent BA/BSc degree taken with a diploma in education confirms our confidence that we have further involutionary roles to play in the pre-service education of teachers.

The university also believes that if Callendar Park is to be closed then it is important that both pre-service and in-service education for teachers should still be available within the central region. It already offers some in-service provision, including MEd and B. Educ. Studies degrees, and we have indicated our willingness to enter into discussions for an extension of this provision should this become necessary.

Yours faithfully,
SIR KENNETH ALEXANDER
Principal
University of Stirling.

Aston and redundancy

Sir, - May I place on record Aston local AUT's dismay at our vice-chancellor's step of publicly airing his views regarding redundancy at our university. Let me assure our members that the local association will fight tooth and nail any attack on tenure now or in the future.

As a leading technological university, Aston's future, we believe, is bright because the path to economic recovery requires exactly the type of graduate we mould.

If the vice chancellors are reluctant to draw the Government's attention to their vindictive and ill-considered attack on the universities, then perhaps the AUT must continue to draw public attention to the fact that we as a public sector group are being subjected, quite unfairly, to a double cut, (approximately 20 per cent).

The Government by its imposition of economic fees for overseas students in addition to a volume cut in block grant is seeking to make the universities a special case for cuts of a disproportionate nature.

We constantly hear the Government bleating about this country's lack of performance compared with our competitors, but at the same time they seek to further reduce our already small university system compared with theirs - an act which will reduce the availability of trained managers and innovators to industry.

Those of us who work at Aston know we have a reputation for producing graduates that meet industry's needs through sandwich courses, as well as being perfectly aware that our graduate placement record is the best in the country.

It is time the vice chancellors told the Government some "home truths" about their policies and at the same time supported their dedicated staffs who have, over many decades, produced the ideas which other countries have poached, because British Government and British risk capital have been reluctant to back them.

Yours faithfully,
Dr R. A. ETHERIDGE
President
Aston Local Association
Association of University Teachers.

Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.

Science in America

Attraction of the magnetic approach



Clive Cookson

In the field of energy, heaven is a safe, clean, cheap and inexhaustible source of power namely fusion.

Fusion powers the sun, and the hydrogen bomb. It liberates prodigious amounts of energy bound in atomic nuclei, by combining light elements into heavier ones. To control the release of that energy, so that it can be applied to generate electrical power, is an immense technological challenge.

On paper, scientists and engineers can take many possible paths through the difficulties, leading to the construction of a commercial fusion reactor early in the next century. But in practice very few routes can be explored because the early experimental steps cost millions of pounds each and later ones run into hundreds of millions.

Since fusion research got under way in the early 1950s, scientists have set off in two directions, heading towards either magnetic confinement or inertial confinement reactors.

Magnetic confinement has shown more promise so far. Its goal is to keep the reactants at temperatures above one hundred million degrees, where they form an ionized "plasma" in which the electrons are stripped away from the nuclei.

The plasma is far too hot to be held by any material vessel; its walls would be vaporized. But, being electrically charged, the plasma can be confined by magnetic fields.

Unfortunately the behaviour of plasmas is so complex and apparently perverse that scientists have not yet been able to design and build a "magnetic bottle" that will contain the fuel long enough, at a high enough density and temperature, for fusion to occur.

So far the favourite route toward magnetic confinement has been the Tokamak, a doughnut-shaped reactor invented during the 1950s in the Soviet Union.

Each step requires a bigger and more expensive machine. The next one in the United States will be the \$300m Tokamak Fusion Test Reactor, nearing completion at Princeton. Even if its performance meets the designers' most optimistic expectations, the TFTR will not do much better than "break even" - give out as much fusion energy as it takes to heat up the deuterium-tritium plasma.

Although the Tokamak represents the most heavily travelled path, the American government is also spending hundreds of millions of dollars on other approaches to fusion. The main alternative method of magnetic confinement is the so-called "magnetic mirror"; its magnetic fields hold the plasma in a tube and reflect back particles that try to escape through the ends. The Department of Energy is spending over \$200m to build an experimental machine at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, California.

A third approach to magnetic containment is the charmingly named Elinor Bumpy Torus. It is leading in a direction half way between the Tokamak and the magnetic mirror and can be described as a series of magnetic mirrors arranged to form a ring.

Experiments with a small bumpy torus at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tennessee, are going so well that the Energy Department recently decided to spend up to \$100m on a second-generation model which should be operating by the mid 1980s. St Elmo's path to energy heaven is beginning to look the most promising.